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PRINCETON UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND AREA STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES--A GUIDE FOR HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE PROGRAMS, DECEMBER 17-18, 1965.

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PARTICIPANTS AT A CONFERENCE HELD DECEMBER 17-18, 1965 REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT TODAY'S COLLEGES AND HIGH SCHOOLS HAD ONLY REALIZED A SMALL PROPORTION OF THE POSSIBLE EDUCATIONAL POTENTIAL OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND AREA STUDIES. IT WAS BELIEVED THAT HIGH QUALITY PROGRAMS MUST BE EMPHASIZED, IF NECESSARY OF LIMITED SCOPE, RATHER THAN PROGRAMS OF BROAD COVERAGE WITH LOWER QUALITY. THE CREATION OF A NATIONWIDE NETWORK OF COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS WAS MENTIONED AS A POSSIBILITY. CONFEREES RECOMMENDED THAT BOTH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE FOUNDATIONS SUPPORT THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS FOR THESE PROGRAMS, AND THAT VISITING FOREIGNERS HELP IN AROUSING STUDENT INTEREST IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS. (TC)

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Princeton University Conference* on
Foreign Languages and Area Studies in the United States:
A Guide for High School and College Programs
December 17-18, 1965

Contents

- Introduction, by the Director
- Summary and Recommendations, prepared by the Rapporteur
- The Challenge of Intellectual Provincialism in the Colleges, by Ward
Morehouse
- Area Studies and the Secondary Schools, by Howard Menlinger
- The Coordination of High School and Undergraduate Studies in Non-Western
Languages and Cultures, by Stanley Spector
- Curricular Methods of Introducing Foreign Area Studies, by George Beckmann
- The Protestant Ethic and the Non-Protestant World: A Challenge for Foreign
Area Studies, by Richard M. Morse

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Introduction

The conference was convened by Princeton University, with a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, to consider the best ways to impart to college and high school students a knowledge of foreign areas and cultures appropriate for our times. Although the conference considered, to some extent, foreign cultures in general, the discussions, recommendations and the background papers are particularly relevant to the so-called "critical" or "neglected" languages and areas. The participants reviewed successful programs, made recommendations for increasing their effectiveness, and urged the inauguration of new programs and approaches. These suggestions are given in the "Summary and Recommendations," which follow. Some of them, notably those concerning the university area centers, the colleges, the secondary and elementary schools, are now before the Congress as a result of the President's message of February 2, 1966, and of bills introduced subsequently.

Five papers, reproduced in this supplement, formed the basis of the discussion. The papers by Morehouse and Menlinger describe and evaluate present area-language programs in the colleges and secondary schools. The paper by Spector analyzes experience in relating secondary school to university programs. Beckmann discusses the curricular issues raised by these programs, and Morse weighs their general educational advantages.

The recommendations of the conference are somewhat broad, but the reader will find in the papers the kind of specific description and assessment that will be most helpful in enabling him to make up his own mind as to how

far area-language programs have developed and where they ought to go from this point. The ideal methods, curriculum and organization have not yet been found, but some successful programs in a few colleges and universities have indicated a general pattern of high quality: (1) the combination of the social sciences and the humanities; (2) intensive language teaching with clear goals and methods; (3) first hand contact by teachers and students with the area and language under study; (4) institutional cooperation to gain broader coverage or deeper penetration; (5) effective texts and other teaching materials, and appropriate library and laboratory facilities.

It is doubtful that all institutions can reach such a level, but some come very close to it, and many more can do so in cooperation. With the increasing interest of the federal and a few state governments and some foundations, the problem of financing will probably not be the main one; to a greater extent as we go along, the problem of the universities, colleges and schools will be to find the intellectual and administrative talent to match the interest of the community as a whole.

The conference was fortunate in its writers of papers and participants, and in having the hospitality of this journal to make its proceedings available to a wide and interested public.

Morroee Berger

Director of the Conference

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Howard E. Wilson, University of California, Los Angeles

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Summary and Recommendations of the Conference

I. Foreign language and area studies have an important part to play in the general, higher, and professional education of American students.

Although substantial progress has been made, especially since World War II, only a small portion of the educational potential of such studies has been realized in the colleges and high schools.

Recommendations: (1) At all levels, the emphasis in developing language and area instruction should be on quality programs, if necessary of limited scope, rather than on coverage for its own sake. (2) Support should be given, through the cooperation of the federal and state governments, private foundations, universities, private and public schools, and professional language and area associations, to the systematic development of study and teaching aids and to their wide dissemination for use in the colleges and secondary schools. Bibliographies, library acquisition guides, model curricular programs, textbooks and other study materials currently available should be evaluated, supplemented, and expanded.

II. Some colleges and universities may lag in developing language and area studies. In some cases, this may stem from a failure to perceive their educational importance, but the shortages of qualified staff and of library resources pose formidable barriers even where the value of such studies is recognized.

Recommendations: (1) All institutions should be encouraged to develop at least representative offerings in one area-language combination. (2) In the interim, however, it would be advantageous to create a nation-wide network of cooperative programs, each serving several colleges, and to expand programs under which students, for one or two undergraduate years, transfer to institutions where advanced courses are available. Intensive summer study opportunities for undergraduates should also be further developed. (3) The mode of introduction of area courses will vary with the educational aims and resources of the particular institution. Some may be able to

introduce specialized courses on certain areas, others may infuse existing courses with sections on foreign areas, and still others may find it useful to adopt both approaches. In all cases, the colleges should regularly examine their curricula to determine whether they are doing justice to the achievements and importance of cultures other than our own and its antecedents. (4) The development of new curricula and the anticipated increase in qualified teachers should be accompanied by adequate teaching aids and the ample stocking of libraries at all levels.

III. Historically, language and area studies have first been developed at the professional graduate centers. This development should be extended and strengthened. Language and area studies, however, should not be limited to the "elitist" education of relatively limited segments of the student population, for such studies have important implications for the growth of self-awareness and citizenship and are adaptable to a wide variety of educational purposes.

Recommendations: (1) While the graduate centers necessarily and appropriately will continue to occupy the central place in providing expertise, guidance, and resources, the special requirements of college and secondary school curricula (especially where language and area studies are to be part of general education) dictate the early and full involvement of college and secondary school teachers in future developmental efforts. They should be not merely consulted, but must be expected to play an originating role as well. (2) A conference bringing together university language and area specialists and college and secondary school teachers and administrators concerned with language and area studies should be convened so that university specialists may become more familiar with the special needs of teaching programs, and so that teachers may make clear to the specialists the needs of students at and below the college level.

IV. Early training in appropriate languages, beginning in elementary school, appears to be feasible and is to be encouraged as resources allow.

Recommendations: (1) Such early training is preferably undertaken as part of a continuing sequence of language learning; token exposure that is not consistently re-enforced and built upon may be wasteful. Language training is also recognized as having general educational value, for early competence in a foreign language arouses interest in a foreign culture for its own sake and in human terms.

V. The educational values of language and area studies are best realized, at all levels, where these studies are incorporated as parts of a more general comparative and inter-disciplinary approach to the comprehension of societies and cultures in their international setting. Accordingly, no single disciplinary approach is adequate.

Recommendations: (1) The humanities and the social sciences are mutually supporting approaches to language and area studies; they should be explored and encouraged. (2) The methods of introducing language and area studies in colleges and secondary schools (and even in elementary schools) should take due account of their usefulness as broadening and humanizing experiences for the student. (3) The successful curriculum reforms for secondary schools recently undertaken in mathematics and the sciences should encourage a thorough examination of methods in language and area instruction to determine what improvements might be appropriate.

VI. Voluntary experimental programs have shown that students display considerable receptiveness to and capacity for learning the "difficult" languages on the pre-college levels. Among the most successful models are area centers that provide extra-curricular opportunities for local high school students to attend college-level classes.

Recommendations: (1) Existing and successful programs, including those now privately or voluntarily arranged by university area and language centers, should be given immediate assistance, if it is necessary and desired, to maintain current work and to expand. They are important not only for their current contributions, but as models for other programs. Their experience also suggests that one of the most effective interim ways of extending language and area instruction to the secondary schools on a co-curricular or extra-curricular basis is for such university centers to service several schools in the surrounding communities. The expense of such arrangements, particularly when they involve private universities, requires outside support. Arrangements of this kind should also include provision for exceptionally qualified and talented secondary school students to enroll directly in college language courses where possible.

VII. There is a shortage of qualified teachers of area studies and languages in the colleges and secondary schools. Support by the federal government and foundations has improved the situation in the colleges, but the secondary schools have thus far been given inadequate attention.

Recommendations: (1) All available resources should be used to encourage an increase in high-quality language and area offerings in colleges and universities that train significant numbers of teachers. (2) Such institutions should arrange cooperative programs with universities having well-developed language and area resources, either on a state or a national level, in order that especially well qualified and motivated students may take advanced work that is not available at their home institutions. (3) Far-reaching measures are justified, in view of the shortage of qualified teachers, to encourage young people to choose secondary and elementary school language teaching as a career. Special undergraduate

scholarships and other forms of financial aid should include strong incentive features for those planning such careers. (4) A far-reaching in-service program of summer institutes and academic year enrollment is recommended, with emphasis on inter-disciplinary approaches, for the training and re-training of secondary and elementary school teachers. Such programs, already available to college teachers from institutions that wish to use their own staff to inaugurate area and language studies, should be expanded. (5) University language and area centers should be encouraged to participate on an experimental and demonstration basis directly in the colleges and schools.

VIII. Firsthand contact with relevant foreign cultures is indispensable as a means of increasing motivation and of improving professional competence.

Recommendations: (1) A systematic effort should be undertaken to provide overseas experience for prospective and in-service language and area teachers on all levels, both during summers and the academic year. The overseas work should be under appropriate supervision, and may take one of several forms, including enrollment at foreign universities, U.S.-sponsored overseas study programs, exchange teaching programs, and the like. However, overseas experience should be regarded as supplementary to, and closely integrated with, prior formal training in the United States. (2) On a smaller scale, overseas experience for selected college and secondary school students is recommended.

IX. The traditional barriers between curricular, extra-curricular, and co-curricular education hinder progress in language and area studies. Successful programs show that some of the strongest sources of early motivation and sustained interest among students are often to be found outside the classroom setting, especially in the secondary schools.

Recommendations: (1) Programs in which visiting foreigners reside at an institution for a period of months or for an academic year appear to have great promise in arousing student interest in colleges and secondary schools, for they foster personal contact with foreign languages and cultures that supplements curricular offerings or may provide a substitute in establishing early awareness when curricular facilities are not yet available. Support for such programs of visits, either on an exchange or unilateral basis, is recommended on a substantial experimental scale. The program should by no means be restricted to professional teachers, but may encompass foreign scholars, artists and others.

Prepared by Allen Kassof
Rapporteur of the Conference

Princeton University Conference On
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December 17-18, 1965

The Challenge of Intellectual Provincialism in the Colleges

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Technology, Provincialism, and the Academics

In a thoughtful series of lectures, Sir Eric Ashby has traced the checkered course of events which ultimately led to the penetration of the English university curriculum by the natural sciences. The degree of obduracy displayed by the classicists who dominated the faculties of Oxford and Cambridge throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries now appears--with the benefit of hindsight--ostrich-like and at times simply pig-headed. But it was nonetheless real and earnest at the time--so much so that virtually all of the major advances in scientific knowledge which occurred in Great Britain until well into the nineteenth century took place outside of the universities because of their vigorous lack of hospitality to scientific endeavor within their walls. Sir Eric describes the essence of the situation in these words:

The purpose of this analysis is not to pass judgment on early Victorian Oxford and Cambridge, still less to pass judgment on the merits of a classical versus a scientific education. It is simply to establish the fact that scientific thought...the foundations of modern physics and chemistry (those of biology were still to be laid by Darwin), and which had caught the imagination of the general public (even of artisans, who crowded to Anderson's 'anti-toga' lectures...), had scarcely influenced the universities of England. The scientific revolution had occurred not through, but in spite of, the English universities.¹

Viewed within the larger context of Western intellectual history, attempts to challenge the academic provincialism of American colleges and universities in the second half of the twentieth century offer a number of parallels with the earlier struggles of the natural scientist to gain not just a foothold but a place in the sun bearing some meaningful relationship of the natural sciences to the total universe of knowledge in English universities throughout the nineteenth century. These parallels are, in an immediate sense, painfully evident to those who are committed to the proposition that the proper concern of teaching and scholarship in our colleges and universities is the multiplicity of human experience and accomplishment and not just one of its major varieties, albeit a very important and significant one.

But in an ultimate sense, the parallels are grounds for optimism. In the last analysis, the natural sciences have achieved their rightful place in the academic firmament. (Indeed, in some parts of the world and in certain kinds of educational contexts, advocates of the humanistic and social science disciplines would feel that the natural sciences have over-reached

¹Sir Eric Ashby, Technology and the Academics, London: Macmillan, 1959, p.13.

themselves.) So too will the intellectual validity of the proposition that the world is round--not only geographically but also culturally and historically--prevail in American colleges and universities.

The Present Base Line

It is the thesis of this discussion that while much has been accomplished within the past several decades, the struggle has hardly begun if anything like the ultimate resolution achieved by the natural scientists in English universities is to come to pass in opportunities for the study of the world beyond Europe in American colleges and universities. In many respects, the record thus far presents a pattern not unlike that found in Soviet steel statistics. The growth of interest within the past couple of decades in the study of areas of the world and cultural traditions outside the perimeters of our largely Western civilization is impressive--when it is measured in percentage terms. But this interest becomes minor to the point of insignificance if it is calculated in absolute terms in relation to the total magnitude of the American academic effort in all fields of the social sciences and humanities.

There is a substantial and growing literature on the general subject of area and language studies in American higher education, and several important studies on the current status of matters which will be explored further in the paragraphs following have recently appeared. A bibliography--which is by no means exhaustive--has been compiled by Lyman Legters and his

colleagues at the U. S. Office of Education on language and area studies in American education, containing over 500 items.² And within the past four or five years at least half a dozen significant studies and surveys of the present condition of opportunities and resources for the study of the world beyond Europe have appeared.³

Because of the existence of these numerous examinations of the current situation, the present discussion will concentrate not on describing what has been done but rather in attempting to identify persisting problems and suggesting what should be undertaken in the future.

But before turning to an exploration of problems and future needs, it would be well to identify a recurring theme in past studies and surveys which helps to define the magnitude of the

²Arrangements are now being made to issue this bibliography as a title in the Occasional Publications Series of the Foreign Area Materials Center, State Education Department, University of the State of New York (1790 Broadway, New York, N. Y.).

³For example: The University and World Affairs, New York: The Ford Foundation, 1960 (distributed by Education and World Affairs, 522 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.); The College and World Affairs, New York: Education and World Affairs, 1964; Larry Moses, comp., Language and Area Study Programs in American Universities, Washington: Department of State, 1964; Non-Western Studies in the Liberal Arts College, Washington: Association of American Colleges, 1964; Howard E. and Florence H. Wilson, American Higher Education and World Affairs, Washington: American Council on Education, 1963; Donald N. Bigelow and Lyman Legters, eds., The Non-Western World in Higher Education, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1964; Percy W. Bidwell, Undergraduate Education in Foreign Affairs, New York: King's Crown Press, 1962; Ward Morehouse, ed., Asian Studies in Liberal Arts Colleges, Washington: Association of American Colleges, 1961.

task ahead of us. Well over a decade ago, Mortimer Graves, the former executive director of the American Council of Learned Societies, glumly concluded that "by far the largest proportion of Americans who graduate from institutions of higher learning do so without ever meeting a civilization patterned differently from their own."⁴

In the late 1950's, John Thompson and Robert Burns found a similar situation in the state of Indiana where, according to their estimates, "only a small proportion of the student body is exposed to non-western areas"--areas which collectively contain most of mankind and have by all odds experienced most of human history.⁵

A similar conclusion was reached by Percy Bidwell in his study on Undergraduate Education and Foreign Affairs.

In general, the chances are rather small that the run-of-the-mine undergraduate will become better acquainted, in formal courses, with the history, the politics, or the social and cultural life of foreign countries.⁶

More recent studies of the problem have likewise emphasized the very limited success which has thus far been achieved in integrating the study of other peoples and cultures into the mainstream of undergraduate education in our

⁴Mortimer Graves, A Neglected Facet of the National Security Problem, Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, reprinted 1952, p.1.

⁵Robert F. Byrnes, ed., The Non-Western Areas in Undergraduate Education in Indiana, Bloomington: Indiana University Publications (Slavic and East Europe Series, Vol. XV,) p.8.

⁶Bidwell, op. cit., p.8.

colleges and universities. Thus, the Committee on the College and World Affairs concluded that:

It would be difficult to overestimate the far-reaching implications of the shift in the locus of world power and responsibility that has thrust the United States into the thinly populated center of world affairs....

It is trite to observe, two decades after the beginnings of this shift, that both power and responsibility came to the United States before either the government or the people were prepared for it. They had neither the knowledge, the outlook, the skills, nor the understanding required. Unfortunately, this condition still persists even after twenty years. It is this continuing lack of preparation for world leadership that poses a serious challenge to education.⁷

And the Association of American Colleges survey of non-Western studies in liberal arts colleges found that:

Were the figures yielded by our survey to be compared with all courses offered, all faculty activity and total student population in liberal arts colleges, it would be seen that non-Western studies are as yet playing only a minor part of the life of these colleges. Aside from any such comparison, the difficulty of evaluating the present situation forbids self-complacency. At most, the college effort in non-Western studies can be said to represent a modest beginning.⁸

The Doctrine of Relative Significance

The single most important and fundamental problem confronting those who seek to strengthen opportunities for the study of traditionally "neglected" areas of the world in American colleges and universities is the intellectual and professional commitment of the vast majority of faculty

⁷The College and World Affairs, op. cit., pp. 3-4

⁸Non-Western Studies in Liberal Arts Colleges, op. cit., p. 47.

members in these institutions--at least in the social sciences and humanities--to the self-sufficiency of the Western tradition and its contemporary development on the North American continent. Putting the matter more bluntly, most faculty members in American colleges and universities simply do not consider the study of areas of the world and traditions outside the perimeters of Western civilization very important--and certainly not as important as the study of Western civilization and the problems of American society.

George Orwell in Animal Farm offers an engaging and somewhat whimsical definition of equality as it emerged in the community which he was describing: "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others."⁹ Extending the analogy to the problems under discussion leads to the formulation of the doctrine of relative significance: All knowledge is significant but some kinds of knowledge are more significant than others.

The difficulties of establishing intellectually acceptable criteria of relative significance, however, are formidable, as these passages from an exchange of correspondence published in the Newsletter of the American Council of Learned Societies amply demonstrate. Professor Eugene Rice of Cornell starts off the exchange in the September, 1961 issue by observing that

⁹George Orwell, Animal Farm, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1946, p. 112.

freshman courses at Cornell are traditionally--and properly,
in his view--Western and that:

...the undoubted practical value and civic usefulness of elementary Burmese should not be allowed to obscure the far greater cultural value of French nor the vocational knowledge of African cultural patterns, the civilizing knowledge of the Italian Renaissance.¹⁰

His colleague on the Cornell faculty and a scholar in Japanese studies, Robert Smith responds in the December, 1961, issue thus:

It is useful to have occasional reminders of the myopia of our colleagues, I suppose, but I find this singularly provincial sentiment entirely out of place....

Burmese is not culturally the equal of French, I take it. Does this suggest that Chinese, Japanese, and Sanskrit are also to be relegated to the limbo of lesser languages to be acquired merely for their civic utility? Those so unfamiliar with the massive accomplishments of these literatures as to imagine them to represent an achievement secondary to the French are, I feel, to be urged to look to the insufficiencies of their own educational attainments.

African cultural patterns may, we are informed, be vocationally of the moment, but a knowledge of the Italian Renaissance is civilizing. Presumably, then, other non-Western cultural developments are somehow less civilized than those of our own heritage. Surely Sung China, Heian Japan, and India's Vedic period are accomplishments worthy of the respect of Western man, and I should have thought of obvious civilizing potential. Ignorance of them is as serious a fault as condescension.¹¹

In a rejoinder in the same issue, Professor Rice compounds his felony by offering this rebuttal to his colleague.

It is embarrassing to be reminded in public that scholars may legitimately study anything. I had hitherto assumed that every scholar took this for granted. On

¹⁰Newsletter of the American Council of Learned Societies, September, 1961, p. 7.

¹¹Ibid., December, 1961, p. 16.

the other hand, undergraduates are normally not scholars in this sense; and the object of undergraduate instruction is not the advancement of knowledge, but its selective propagation by scholars who do advance knowledge. At issue are the judgments of value by which this selection is made...

My position is briefly this: On the one hand, that the language, history and civilization of China or Japan are useful, legitimate and enriching subjects of undergraduate instruction; on the other, that what we commonly call "Western" civilization is a far more enriching subject of instruction; that, consequently, Western literature, science, history, and art should be the principal subjects of the undergraduate curriculum. A department of Fine Arts should feel deprived if it cannot offer a course on Chinese painting, but the deprivation would be far greater if it failed to offer a course on Italian painting from Giotto to Tintoretto. A good history department should offer Chinese history, but it would be misguided if it did not continue to make Western history from the Greeks to the end of the nineteenth century the core of its instruction. Universities offer many more courses on English, Spanish, German, French, Italian and Russian literature than on Chinese, Japanese and Indian. This reflects the greater richness of Western literary inheritance and not merely obtuse "ethnocentrism". A department of music does not sin mortally by failing to offer instruction in the history of Asian music. It would betray its function entirely if it omitted Bach or Mozart.¹²

And finally, in a comment on all of the preceding exchange, Professor G. M. Wickens, Chairman of the Department of Islamic Studies at the University of Toronto, suggests in the January, 1962, issue that:

It is a natural human reaction to regard one's immediate experience, whether personal, social, national, or historical, as of ultimate and unique significance. At least part of the academic function is to resist such a reaction, and this is a basic reason why universities should always be to some extent at odds with the society around them. If this proposition be accepted (and it certainly will not be by all North American educators,) one cannot but

¹²Newsletter of the American Council of Learned Societies, December, 1961, pp. 17-18.

question Professor Rice's statement that "what we commonly call 'Western' civilization is a far more enriching subject of instruction"--especially since his comparison here is not with his pretended targets (Burmese, Quechua and the rest), but with the magisterial civilizations of the Far East. How does Professor Rice feel able to make his judgments? Is he equally well versed in both groups of languages, histories and cultures? And even if he were, would such a judgment form a legitimate and meaningful academic exercise?...

Any civilization, whatever its origins in time and space, is potentially worthy of first class citizenship in the humane polity, provided it can satisfy the requirement of having made substantial and available contributions to literature, art, and thought: That we in the West are usually not yet prepared to grant such citizenship (even on a trial basis) reflects, however excusably, only on ourselves.¹³

The argument here is not whether the study of other traditions and societies is as important in terms of the ultimate purposes of undergraduate liberal education as our own. It clearly is not. But it does not follow that the study of the world beyond Europe should be excluded--not from the curriculum (for it is obviously there) but from the mainstream of academic experience of the American undergraduate (where it certainly is not). And the intellectual condescension, if not arrogance, of those who would relegate studies of cultures and societies other than our own to a lesser limbo remains the single most substantial obstacle to eradicating the basis for Mortimer Graves' gloomy observation of more than a decade ago.

The Curriculum

The practical consequences of the intellectual

¹³Newsletter of the American Council of Learned Societies,
January, 1962, p.7.

considerations discussed in the preceding paragraphs are found in the formal curriculum in the American college. The glacial qualities of the college curriculum have been often enough underscored not to require elaboration here. In many ways the prior question--at least to the degree that in any given institution the faculty control the curriculum--is the range of intellectual and professional interests to be found in the faculty. The "problem" of the curriculum will--over the long run--solve itself as the spectrum of faculty interests changes.

But this does not mean that efforts should not be made to press for changes in the formal curriculum. And one of the questions which immediately arises is whether primary reliance should be placed on so-called "area studies" cutting across several disciplinary lines or "infusion" of materials drawn from historical and contemporary contexts outside of Western civilization into established courses in the disciplines.

These are not, as should be obvious on a moment's reflection, mutually exclusive alternatives, and the answer is clearly that both should be encouraged. The argument for the former is simply that any historical tradition or contemporary society exists as a totality and not a series of arbitrary compartments reflecting the established academic disciplines. It is relatively easier for the American student to identify relationships between the several compartments which he studies in discipline-oriented courses dealing with his own society and tradition and far more difficult for him to perform this

integrating process as he studies civilizations other than his own.

One way of giving curricular expression to the foregoing argument is to insist that at some point in his formal educational career, the American student be introduced to another civilization of world significance in its historical development and of contemporary importance--in its totality. "Infusion" of the academic disciplines--resulting in a cafeteria-style introduction to the world beyond Europe--is not enough.

But it should be immediately added that every effort needs to be made to broaden the spectrum of interest in the principal disciplines in the social sciences and humanities beyond a pre-occupation with some particular aspect of Western civilization. This is one way of making the disciplines more honest and less susceptible to the intellectual fraud which has been a not unknown phenomenon in times past when "universal" laws had been advanced on the basis of evidence derived from only one of the major civilizations of the world.

As the disciplines in the social sciences and humanities broaden their range of concern--a process which has clearly already begun--the process of "infusion" in the formal curriculum will come naturally because it will seem intellectually relevant to those faculty members who are involved in giving expression to it in their own teaching. Any effort to broaden opportunity for the study of the world beyond Europe must,

therefore, be firmly rooted in the academic disciplines as well.¹⁴

The Faculty

The faculty remains the key to any effort to break down the provincialism which so pervasively afflicts American higher education. If lack of faculty interest is the major inhibition to expansion of opportunities in the formal curriculum, lack of faculty competence is the principal limitation on exploiting affectively whatever opportunities now exist.

To be sure, as the disciplines themselves change in character and the conventional limits of graduate training are broadened to include the study of other civilizations, the problems which presently confront non-European studies in the colleges will be significantly reduced. But the task of enlarging competence by providing opportunities for existing faculty will always be with us.

Those who take what might be regarded as the "purist" approach in the matter of faculty training miss the point. It is unquestionably true that a higher order of competence is achieved if a faculty member, in his graduate preparation for teaching, embarks upon a program of area and discipline training with acquisition of the relevant linguistic skills. The sad

¹⁴The manner in which so-called non-Western studies are affecting the academic disciplines is described in several contributions to Bigelow and Legters, op. cit. --for example, Milton Singer, "The Social Sciences in Non-Western Studies," and Albert H. Marcwardt, "The Humanities and Non-Western Studies."

fact remains, however, that the graduate centers in the universities where such individuals are trained are preparing only a small fraction of what is needed even now--let alone what will be required if there is really significant expansion of interest in the colleges. In some fields, the number of persons trained is barely sufficient to keep the major graduate centers themselves adequately staffed and provide a small "surplus" for deployment to a few of the larger universities which are not necessarily centers of graduate training and research in area studies. And even when an individual with the kind of graduate training just described does venture into undergraduate teaching, he rarely stays very long because of the unsatisfactory intellectual terms of his employment.

Two major efforts are consequently required. One is a continuing attack on the problem of intellectual and professional isolation for the individual with adequate area training who is teaching in a predominately undergraduate institution. More opportunities for research in the field, access to library resources relevant to his research interests (which are almost never available on his own campus), and continuing and more meaningful contact with neighboring centers of advanced study are crucial. Programs such as the New York State Faculty Scholars in International Studies and the Great Lakes Colleges Association faculty research program are essential--far more adequately financed and far more widely available.

The other effort for which there is continuing need involves

"extending" an undergraduate teacher's existing competence in a discipline to an aspect of that discipline which deals with an area of the world or historical tradition outside the perimeters of Western civilization. Faculty seminars during the summer and the academic year, fellowship programs to enable an individual to be in residence at a major center for a year or more, and overseas opportunities of varying kinds are all required--in abundance. The kinds of opportunities supported by the Ford Foundation among the Great Lakes Colleges, Associated Colleges of the Midwest, and Southern Regional Education Board, the efforts in New York State (partly supported by the Ford Foundation and partly by public funds) and elsewhere, the NDEA post-doctoral programs sponsored by the U. S. Office of Education--all of these will have to be extended substantially if academic provincialism in our colleges and universities is ever to be surmounted.

Undergraduate Language Study

One major need in any sustained effort to broaden American academic concern with the rest of the world is greatly enlarged opportunity for the study of languages in addition to those conventionally taught Western European ones. The problems are formidable and should not be underestimated. By all odds the most important is the lack of a sufficient number of adequately trained language teachers.

A significant impetus to increased opportunity for the study of such languages in undergraduate institutions has been

provided recently by the expansion on a far more substantial scale of NDEA language and area centers at the undergraduate level. Desirable as this development is, a word of caution should be added. As organizing devices to encourage language offerings and other aspects of academic development in new fields of concern, language and area centers are in many ways more suited to a university environment than to that of an undergraduate institution, particularly smaller liberal arts colleges. There is a real possibility of "distortion" in terms of the prosecution of these studies as highly separate and specialized ones with insufficient relationship to the overriding educational purposes of the college concerned. Care in seeing that the study of non-European languages and related area studies is effectively integrated into the mainstream of undergraduate education is required.

Whether there can be a significant expansion--even assuming that funds are available--of the NDEA-supported language and area centers at the undergraduate level is by no means certain--at least for some languages where competent faculty are very scarce indeed. While certainly modest expansion of NDEA centers should be sought, other alternatives do need to be explored. Among these is the possibility of encouraging students from smaller colleges to study critical languages at university centers where they are normally offered--as found in the Princeton program of junior-year study of critical languages or the much

more modest New York State cooperative program' in undergraduate study of neglected languages. Opportunities of this sort obviously could be expanded many times before a significant number of students have access to opportunities for the study of languages other than Western European ones.

Another kind of approach is reflected in an experiment conducted by Professor Peter Boyd-Bowman, formerly of Kalamazoo College and now at the State University of New York at Buffalo. The essence of the experiment is the independent study of critical languages, using programmed materials and native speakers under local faculty supervision and with external examination.¹⁵ The possibilities which this approach offers to undergraduate institutions--particularly in the face of the shortage of qualified language teachers in critical languages--is very challenging and exciting. An effort to extend Boyd-Bowman's experience at Kalamazoo College to a larger number of institutions is now underway in New York and, if it is successful, it should be extended to other parts of the country.

Under present NDEA policy for support of undergraduate study of critical languages, the rich get richer and the poor

¹⁵Peter Boyd-Bowman, Experiments with Taped Materials and Native Informants to Develop for Small Colleges Some Programs of Independent Study in the Neglected Languages, Kalamazoo, Mich.: Kalamazoo College, September, 1965; ibid., Self-Instruction in the Non-Western Languages: A Manual for Program Directors, n.p., 1965.

get poorer because support is limited to those students who have had at least one year of the language and that in effect limits the competition to students at for the most part larger universities where critical languages are taught. Independent study of these languages should help to alleviate the problem by broadening the range of institutions from which students applying for fellowships for intensive summer language study under NDEA may come.

Independent study of critical languages may also change the pattern of work done under programs like the Princeton junior year plan. More and more, students may come to Princeton with one or two years of a critical language acquired through independent study, focusing at Princeton on more advanced levels of language work which are likely to be available only at the larger university centers. Thus it would appear that the need for programs like the Princeton plan will continue for a long time into the future and are not necessarily a temporary expedient.

Other Opportunities for Students

A critical problem confronting the future development of non-European studies at all levels of American education involves the attraction of intellectual talent in the face of growing competition from a variety of other quarters in American society. This in turn implies that there will be especially challenging opportunities for particularly able students.

One such effort is reflected in the Columbia-Cornell-Harvard-Illinois Latin American Summer Field Work Program for

Undergraduate Students. This provides for a summer of anthropological work in the field--in several parts of Latin America--preceded by a year of careful preparation, including language training if that is necessary. Such opportunities should be developed in other parts of the world and opened up to able students from a variety of institutions.

Still another kind of opportunity for the unusually promising student is found in the Senior Seminar Program in Oriental Studies at Columbia. In curricular terms, this constitutes an effort to provide "integration" of materials derived from several courses in different disciplines but focused on a common area or historical tradition. The effectiveness of the Columbia Senior Seminars depend very much on the large concentration of faculty resources available at Columbia as a major center of advance training and research. While it would be difficult for a smaller institution to organize a seminar with these rich resources, the possibility of developing cooperative relationships between smaller colleges and larger neighboring universities should be encouraged. The Columbia Senior Seminars are already open on a limited basis to exceptionally well prepared students from neighboring colleges in the New York metropolitan area. This kind of pattern could well be duplicated across the country. Title III of the new Higher Education Act may offer, through its provisions for assistance to "developing" undergraduate institutions, important opportunities for the expansion of this sort of opportunity for promising undergraduates.

Library Resources and Teaching Materials

The library is the cornerstone of any academic enterprise. Library needs are all the greater in studies of the world beyond Europe because of past neglect.

The single most important need is for more money with which to buy books. Here again, the new Higher Education Act--under Title II--should offer useful support and encouragement. Colleges themselves will allocate a growing proportion of their library funds for this purpose as more and more of their faculty are prepared to grant first class citizenship in the humane polity to the study of presently neglected areas and traditions.

After money for books comes help to the college librarian in a great variety of ways. Bibliographical guidance and assistance in acquisitions are clearly essential. The out-of-print book problem--which will only grow more severe in the future as more and more libraries become interested in non-European areas of the world--demands attention. And consideration needs to be given soon to the role of non-Western European language materials in undergraduate libraries. This is not as fanciful as it may seem if one remembers that a couple of decades ago almost no library outside of the major university centers were collecting materials in Russian.

For virtually all college librarians, the world beyond Europe represents a terra incognita. Special opportunities need to be created for the college librarian. The pattern of the

week-long conference or institute organized by the Great Lakes Colleges Association in June 1965, should be extended to other parts of the country. (Plans are now being explored for a second such program as a cooperative venture between the Connecticut Valley Colleges and the University of the State of New York.) In these and other efforts to work with the professional constituency of college libraries, the recent formation of a standing committee on library resources on foreign area studies by the College Library Section of the Association of College and Research Libraries is an encouraging step forward. This committee should provide leadership in the college library field for various undertakings to strengthen library resources in area studies.

As demand in the colleges grows for materials for student use on neglected areas and traditions, so will the supply of materials. Indeed, the explosion of paperback publishing on Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Soviet Union in recent years is testimony to this circumstance.¹⁶ Special efforts will have to be made to develop certain kinds of visual materials useful

¹⁶David H. Andrews, comp., and T. H. Hillmon, ed., Latin America: A Bibliography of Paperback Books, Washington: Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, 1964; Cynthia T. Morehouse, comp., Paperbound Books on Asia, Ann Arbor, Mich: Association for Asian Studies, 1963; Paul Rosenblum, comp., Checklist of Paperbound Books on Africa, Albany and New York: University of the State of New York and African Studies Association, 1965; Sherman D. Spector, comp., Checklist of Paperbound Books on Russia, Albany: University of the State of New York, 1964. These checklists are distributed by the Foreign Area Materials Center, 1790 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

in undergraduate teaching where these are not readily available and in other ways to see that needs for particular kinds of materials are met. One such experimental approach is a joint New York-California pilot project to develop educational materials in India on Indian life and culture for use in American schools and colleges; if this project proves successful, it should be repeated in other major areas of the world.

A Program for the Future

What does all of the foregoing mean--measured in at least approximate quantitative terms over, say, the next decade. To attempt an answer to such a question involves identifying the ultimate objective.

If academic provincialism in our colleges and universities is to be effectively and decisively surmounted, we must provide meaningful opportunities for all undergraduates to study the role of the United States in a rapidly changing revolutionary world and to study in significant depth at least one civilization patterned differently from their own. In addition, a significant number of students should have the opportunity to study in some depth the language, history, and culture of a major non-European area of the world--leading to further graduate training and professional careers--academic, or otherwise--in the world beyond Europe.

The problem in essence is how to achieve a critical mass of interest on a particular campus which will be selfgenerating

in the future and to make a significant impact upon the disciplines within the general context of American higher education so that the study of areas of the world outside the perimeters of Western civilization will no longer be considered, as they all too often are at present, somewhat exotic and esoteric. Any attack on these problems must be multi-faceted and certainly include the following elements: 1) "seducing" the leadership of our colleges; 2) planning curricular change; 3) extending faculty interest and competence; 4) attracting more trained faculty to undergraduate institutions; 5) developing library resources; and 6) enlarging opportunities for students. It must also affect significantly the total universe of American higher education--some 2,000 colleges and universities.

1) Seducing leadership in the colleges. There are several approaches to "seducing" the leadership in our colleges. Introducing college presidents, deans, and senior faculty members to major works in literature and thought of a non-European tradition--such as has been tried at the Pinebrook and Pugwash conferences--is certainly one.¹⁷ If short-term opportunities were provided for 10,000 key college administrators and senior faculty over the next ten years--at \$100 a person--\$1 million would be required.

"Guided" or planned periods of observation abroad--which might follow the kind of opportunity contemplated in the

¹⁷Ward Morehouse, "The Pinebrook Experiment," Liberal Education, December, 1964.

preceeding paragraph--are another means of "seducing" the leadership in the colleges. Allowing \$2000 a person for this kind of experience, \$10 million would be required for 5000 individuals.

A third approach--which also offers concrete help on problems of curriculum planning and change--is the kind of consulting service to undergraduate institutions recently initiated by Education and World Affairs. At least \$5 million would be required over the next decade to underwrite this kind of service.

2) Planning curricular change. If the academic disciplines are to be encouraged to broaden their spectrum of interest to include more of the rest of the world, one approach might be to establish a series of "discipline working groups"--composed of some of the very strongest individuals in each of the disciplines. These and related endeavors along the lines of some of the major curriculum reform projects in the natural sciences should have at least \$5 million over the next decade and possibly more.

3) Extending Faculty Competence and Interest. Major categories of opportunity include on-campus seminars, short term conferences, individual reading grants, grants for course development, and off-campus fellowships abroad or at American university centers during the academic year, as well as summer opportunities here and overseas.

II, over the next 10 years, 1000 on-campus seminars were organized, \$10 million would be required, calculating the cost of each seminar at approximately \$10,000 (with a modest stipend to the participating faculty and not any released time.) For individual reading grants, course development grants, and similar activities, as many as 20,000 faculty members should be given such opportunities if a genuinely wide-spread elimination of academic provincialism is to be achieved in the next decade. Figured at the cost of approximately \$1000 each, \$20 million would be required.

Academic-year fellowships for faculty members extending an established competence in a discipline to an area of the world outside the perimeters of Western civilization should be adequately budgeted to allow both for a residence at a major university center in this country and a period of study and observation abroad. \$30 million would provide, over the next decade, between 1500 and 2000 such awards, estimated at between \$15,000 and \$20,000 each. Summer opportunities to participate in special faculty seminars both in the United States and abroad should be available to as many as 20,000 faculty members. \$40 million should be allocated to underwrite these programs on the basis of \$2000 as the average cost for each participant.

4) Attracting More Trained Faculty to Smaller Colleges.

The essential problem here is improving the intellectual terms of employment by making undergraduate teaching more attractive and rewarding to the individual with scholarly training on an area

of the world or cultural tradition largely neglected by American schools and colleges. 5000 grants of \$4000 each to cover released time for research and/or for further development of undergraduate courses would require \$20 million.

A related effort to attract younger faculty members trained at major university centers of non-European studies to undergraduate institutions would involve an "apprentice scheme" over, say a five-year period--with a substantially lighter teaching load, time off for research in the field, and the like--to help make the undergraduate teaching situation more attractive than a post in a larger university center with a graduate program. If such underwriting were provided over a five year period for a total of \$40,000 per individual, \$20 million would be required to underwrite 500 such individuals in a ten year period.

5) Strengthening Library Resources. Because of long neglect in the development of library holdings in past years, a major effort is required. Quite apart from needs for librarian training and ancillary services in the out-of-print book and general bibliography field an average of at least \$5000 a year (to be matched by an equal amount by the recipient college) should be provided over a ten-year period to bring collections on various non-European areas of the world up to a level comparable to holdings on Western Europe and the United States. \$100 million would be required to underwrite this

formula in 2,000 colleges and universities--with some flexibility so that larger institutions might receive support up to perhaps \$10,000 on a matching basis in recognition of the fact that smaller institutions probably would not take advantage of the full amount which would be available to them because of the matching requirement.

6) Opportunities for Undergraduate Students. In addition to existing programs of support for intensive language study by undergraduates and general scholarship programs, loan funds, and other types of financial assistance available through the federal government, several of the states, and other sources, there should be resources available to underwrite experimental programs for exceptionally promising undergraduate students and summer field work opportunities. Calculating the cost of such programs at approximately \$1000 per student, \$50 million would be required in the next decade to provide such opportunities for 50,000 especially able undergraduate students.

The scope of these efforts can be summarized thus:

1) Seducing leadership in the colleges	\$16 million
2) Planning curricular change	5 "
3) Extending faculty competence and interest	100 "
4) Attracting more trained faculty to smaller colleges	40 "
5) Strengthening library resources	100 "
6) Opportunities for undergraduate students	50 "
<u>Total for the next decade</u>	<u>\$311 million</u>

This figure is not as large as it seems at first glance since these efforts are to be spread over a ten-year period.

It is nonetheless still far larger than what has been available heretofore. But the objective must be kept clearly in view. What we are seeking is an intellectual revolution in our colleges and universities. When the ultimate objective is that far-reaching and the universe with which we are concerned is so extensive, the price comes high.

The American Dilemma

Gunnar Myrdal, in his classic study of the American Negro two decades ago, identified the vicious circle confronting the Negro in American society.¹⁸ Events in more recent years have underscored this dilemma. There is widespread recognition now that unless the Negro, so long excluded from many important educational and other opportunities in American life, is given special opportunities, it will be impossible to redress the imbalance.

This is the heart of the matter as well in any attempt to mount an attack on academic provincialism in American colleges and universities. Unless special recognition and support are given to those who seek to broaden our intellectual and cultural horizons the insularity of the dominant majority of our faculties--who in the last analysis chart the educational course of our colleges and universities--will never be

¹⁸Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, New York: Harper, 1944.

successfully challenged. This support must be given over a long enough period of time and in the general order of magnitude indicated in the preceding paragraphs or else the "critical mass" of academic interest--essential to self-generating efforts in future decades--will never be achieved on individual college campuses.

This, then, is the dilemma which confronts us in the years immediately ahead--special "privilege" in order to redress past imbalance and break through the vicious circle of parochialism which presently afflicts American colleges and universities. For what is required is a long, sustained undertaking involving endeavor on many different fronts. Those who are faint of heart may take courage from these words of Sir Eric Ashby in commenting on the long struggle which the natural sciences had to endure to achieve their place in the academic firmament just a few decades ago:

Thus--after a long lag--did British universities adapt themselves to the scientific revolution. The new philosophy had come full circle. It began with Bacon, Harvey, Boyle, and Newton. In the French Academy it was enriched by Lavoisier. It crossed the Rhine to Germany, where it was for the first time implanted in the universities....Throughout the nineteenth century, in ever-increasing flood, this German interpretation of the new philosophy penetrated and permeated the English universities. It reached Oxford and Cambridge already in the tide of reform....A profound metamorphosis had taken place in British universities.¹⁹

¹⁹Ashby, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

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A Guide for High School and College Programs

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Area Studies and the Secondary Schools

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Setting:

Since World War II there has been an increasing interest in language and area studies among American colleges and universities. Impelled by a national shortage of trained specialists on non-Western areas, the emphasis was placed initially upon graduate education through the establishment of language and area centers. As the critical shortage of trained area specialists began to wane, the focus of attention shifted. Throughout the country, colleges and universities began to explore ways to add an international dimension to what was previously an essentially American--or at best Western--oriented undergraduate curriculum.

In a less-publicized manner, the secondary schools have been quietly undergoing a similar self-appraisal. While it is possible to trace the school's interest in international relations and area studies to World War II, during the past decade there has been a significant gain in both the quantity and quality of instruction given to non-Western areas of the world. This can be observed in the substantial increase in the numbers and percentage of high school students enrolled in modern foreign languages; it is also evident--though less dramatically--in the changes that have taken place in the teaching of social studies.

The fact that these changes were taking place at the same time, and in some cases before, similar efforts were being made in undergraduate education is significant, for it undercuts the notion that the schools wait until knowledge and inspiration seep down to them from higher education.

Serving a different clientele, expressing different goals, and occupying a different place in American society, the schools may borrow from the experience of higher education but they tend to modify this experience to fit their own objectives. Education for the masses remains the principal concern of secondary schools. Training students to become tax-paying, law-abiding, income-earning, leisure-enjoying members of adult society seems to direct most of what is planned by school officials. Even a college preparatory program is viewed in a semi-vocational manner, as the principal effort is to provide students with the courses that are required for college entrance and with the skills students will need in order to perform successfully as undergraduates.

Utilitarianism rather than humanism or scientism tends to underlie most of what the schools do. Therefore, schools teach about the non-West in order to promote "international understanding" or to "prepare students for citizenship in a nation beset with foreign problems." Foreign languages are stressed for college-bound students because proficiency in a language is rapidly becoming a major criteria for college entrance. Only rarely does one hear school administrators or curriculum planners justify a study of non-Western areas because each child should have the opportunity to test and weigh his own culture by measuring it against another, or because one way to verify social science postulates is to test them against other kinds of human society than those on which they were based.

More often than not, the objectives underlying the inclusion of a unit or course of study on a non-Western area is stated in terms of the national interest rather than what it will do for the child. Therefore, units or courses on Communism and the USSR became popular because "we must learn to get along with the Russians" or, more often, "the USSR is our enemy and we must learn how to cope with the Soviets."

One can better understand the reasons for the differences between the colleges and the secondary schools if one recognizes the different positions they hold in society. American colleges and universities stand like feudal kingdoms. Change in an American university is retarded primarily by tradition, staff deficiencies, lack of money, and near-sighted administrators. The schools have all these plus others the colleges can avoid. Not only are courses and requirements for graduation often set by the state, but the schools carry the special burden of transmitting the culture and mores of the communities in which they are located. Whereas universities are sometimes described as islands of culture in seas of drabness, no such charges are leveled at secondary schools. They tend to be as dull or as enlightened as the populace they serve, because they are expected to be that way.

It is no secret that the best public secondary schools are in the wealthy suburbs surrounding large metropolitan areas and on university campuses. In such settings a premium is placed on experimentation and innovation. Most communities however, expect their schools to be sufficiently in step with the times to assure their graduates admission to college without departing too far from traditional patterns of belief and custom. Therefore, curriculum change tends to occur rapidly only when the community is agreed upon the necessity for change. Topics or courses

which are controversial, or concerning which there is a negative attitude, rarely find their way into the schools.

Any discussion on the place of language and area studies in the secondary schools must not lose sight of the setting in which such instruction is to take place. In moving from a college to a secondary school environment new problems will be faced, new objectives will be required, adjustments in organization and content will be necessary.

Modern Foreign Languages:

Although some experiments are underway to include teaching about other cultures in all courses and grade levels in the schools,¹ the subjects of the secondary school curriculum which are most vulnerable to the adoption of the area approach are modern foreign languages and the social studies. This paper is limited to an examination of these two fields.

Since 1958, the numbers of secondary school students enrolled in modern foreign languages has grown significantly. From 1958 to 1963, total public high school enrollments (grades 9-12) increased by more than one-third, from 7,897,232 to 10,750,081.² During the same period, enrollments in modern foreign languages more than doubled. In 1958, about one of six high school students were enrolled in a modern foreign language; by 1963 the ratio was more than one of four. If classical languages are added to the enrollments in modern foreign languages, almost one-third of all public high school students in 1963 were studying a foreign language.³

Spanish with 38.6 percent of the total enrollment in all foreign languages and French with 32.6 percent led all other foreign languages. Spanish and French were followed by Latin with 19.6 percent and German with 7.5 percent. No other language had even 1 percent of the foreign language

enrollment. Russian, which increased 431.5 percent between 1958 and 1963, had only .6 percent of the foreign language enrollment with 21,551 students.

With the exception of Spanish, the languages that are usually considered as basic to area studies were poorly represented among secondary school language offerings in 1963. Although German and French are necessary for African studies, their inclusion in the secondary school curriculum had little or nothing to do with Africa. Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Hindi together made up less than .3 percent of the total foreign language enrollment in 1963.

Frederick Jackson has reported the efforts underway to expand the study of Chinese and Japanese languages in secondary schools in the United States.⁴ With few exceptions schools offering Chinese and Japanese are located in metropolitan centers and/or near major universities. Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Seton Hall, San Francisco State College, the University of Southern California, and Washington University at St. Louis are seven universities that have devoted much time and energy to establishing Chinese and Japanese language programs in secondary schools. If similar expenditures of funds and energy continue into the future, it is likely that the numbers of schools offering Chinese and Japanese will grow.

The interest on the part of some universities to expand the teaching of Chinese and Japanese in secondary schools affords an opportunity to compare the views of college professors with that of school administrators on the place of foreign language in secondary schools. Professors of Asian languages assert that mastering Chinese and Japanese is not easy. Therefore, they argue that students should begin to study the languages as early as possible in order to take advantage of more advanced courses when they arrive at college.

School administrators respond by noting that the number of colleges and universities offering Chinese and Japanese is severely limited. A high school student has no assurance that the college he attends will offer Chinese and Japanese. The decision to study Chinese in high school is a decision not to study something else. In order to make worthwhile the intensive effort required to master the language, the student should be confident that he will be able to put his language ability to use either in college and/or in his profession.

The schools find it difficult to justify the teaching of Chinese and Japanese or any other language for the purpose of helping students understand the culture of an area, or why the United States is involved there. First of all, students must know the language very well before they are able to gain a better grasp of the customs, beliefs, and life-styles of a people through reading original accounts than they can obtain from good translations. Secondly, while language teachers give lip service to the importance of teaching about the culture of the area, in practice almost all the available class time is devoted to the mechanics of learning the language. Thirdly, it is obvious that only a relatively small proportion of the student body will study Chinese, or Japanese, or Russian, or any other single language. Therefore, if the language classes are assigned the responsibility for providing instruction on the culture of an area, only a few students will learn about any one area.

It is worth noting that some college administrators argue that given the acute national shortage of competent teachers of Oriental languages, available resources should be concentrated toward training college instructors.

Social Studies:

If the social studies is to assume the major responsibility for teaching about non-Western areas in the secondary schools, at least three factors must be present: 1) specially designed courses on non-Western areas or at least courses in which units on the non-West can be included; 2) books and other materials on non-Western areas for both teachers and students; and 3) well-trained teachers who are knowledgeable about one or more non-Western areas.

A study published in 1963 by the North Central Association Foreign Relations Project indicates the courses offered in secondary school studies.⁵ The NCA survey revealed that the pattern of course offerings in the social studies has changed little since the 1920's. Civics is still the most popular course offered at the ninth grade, World History at the tenth, American History at the eleventh, and either a one-year course in American social, political, and economic problems, or a one-year course in American Government, or a combination of one-semester of Government and one-semester of Economics at the twelfth grade.

Seventy-five percent of the schools reporting required from four to six semesters of social studies. Among the 368 schools that responded to the survey, American History was required in 99 percent, Government in 45 percent, World History in 35 percent, Problems of Democracy in 30 percent, Civics in slightly less than 30 percent and Economics in 16 percent. The most common pattern was to require social studies at the eleventh and twelfth grades, with the next most common pattern to require social studies at tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades.

World History is the most frequently offered elective course in the secondary school social studies. Only three percent of the schools re-

porting did not offer it. The trend is to make World History a requirement as during the decade between 1953 and 1962 the percentage of large city school systems requiring World History grew from 26 percent to 60 percent.⁶ After World History, the most commonly offered elective courses are Economics (39 percent, required in an additional 16 percent of the schools) Problems of Democracy (25 percent, required in an additional 30 percent of the schools) and Government (11 percent, required in an additional 45 percent of the schools). Adding Geography, International Relations, and Sociology to the list includes almost the full range of courses available to secondary school students.⁷ International Relations, required in 2 percent of the schools and offered as an elective in 16 percent of the others, has been increasing rapidly in popularity, as almost a third of the schools indicated the course had been added since 1961.

Although course titles have remained essentially the same since the 1920's, there is some evidence to indicate that teachers are giving increasing attention to non-Western areas within their courses. The NCA survey asked teachers of four courses--Problems of Democracy, American History, World History, and Economics--to indicate whether they did or did not include units on international problems, or on non-Western areas of the world. When one examines their responses, it is apparent that high school students are being "exposed" to non-Western areas. For example, of the 320 schools in the sample which offered World History, the percentage of schools including separate units of a week or more in each of the non-Western areas was as follows: Soviet Union, 82 percent; Latin American, 73 percent; Middle East, 72 percent; China, 68 percent; Africa, 57 percent; India, 57 percent; Japan, 53 percent; Southeast Asia, 50 percent. A more recent study by Aurie N. Dunlap suggests the schools may now be giving

even more attention to topics related to international and intercultural relations than they were in 1963.⁸ While one might conclude after a closer examination of what is being taught that the present effort is inadequate, it is clear that opportunities for students to learn about the non-West are already available.

One feature of the above description requires special attention. In the schools as in the colleges it is necessary to decide whether it is best to create new courses or to infiltrate existing courses. There is no one answer to this question. However, new course offerings in secondary social studies tend to begin as electives and are taken by relatively few students. If one hopes to reach the maximum number of students, it may be wise to attempt to infiltrate or redesign existing courses that are already required. World History is undergoing just such a transformation. Traditionally, the World History course has been taught as the history of Western Europe. Presently more and more time is being given to non-Western areas within the traditional World History course at the same time that World History is changing from an elective to a required course.

Two examples may highlight what is happening to the World History course as well as to demonstrate the role states can play in providing leadership for such changes. In 1958, the State Council of Education in Pennsylvania approved a requirement that beginning with June, 1961, all high school pupils in Pennsylvania must have at least one semester of world cultures for graduation. The Department of Public Instruction recommended that high schools offer two semesters. The result is that the traditional World History course has been revised in Pennsylvania to include at least one semester on non-Western areas. The two units prepared by the State Department of Public Instruction and most commonly offered are China and India. Each

unit attempts to draw upon history, political science, geography, economics, sociology, and the humanities for its content.⁹

The State of Wisconsin is now urging its schools to adopt a two-year sequence in World History at the eighth and ninth grades, one year of which would be given to non-Western areas. The Wisconsin program encourages schools to use concepts from all the social sciences in planning their units on non-Western areas rather than relying solely on the history of the area.¹⁰

Despite the new state requirements, course titles, and study guides, those who work closely with the schools know that the best way to learn what a teacher includes in his course is to look at the textbook and any supplementary books he has for his students to read. Whether the course is called World History or World Cultures, if the teacher is using a World Geography text, it is almost certain that his students will spend most of their time studying geography. Therefore, an examination of trends in course titles is incomplete and perhaps misleading without a concomitant glance at the books and materials on the non-West that are available for students to read.

Over the past decade there has been a remarkable increase in the quality and quantity of books and materials available for use in teaching about the non-Western world. While publishers are often reluctant to push far in advance of what the schools are ready to purchase, once the trend had become clear, the publishers responded with what can only be called a deluge of materials on non-Western areas. Not only have traditional texts been revised so as to give more attention to the non-West, but teachers can choose from a wide variety of paperbacks to supplement the required reading in their classes. Films, filmstrips, transparencies for the overhead projector, tape recordings, and records add to the variety of materials easily accessible to teachers.

The vast quantity of excellent materials presently available makes futile any attempt to provide a description or even a listing of what a teacher might wish to use. However, it might be useful to pick out a few examples that pioneered and set the stage for the current bonanza as well as to describe some efforts underway which, although still in the experimental or planning stage, offer some insight into what lies ahead.

Prior to 1955, any instruction in the schools about the non-Western world began with the same basic premise: the world is a dangerous place and we must learn to get along with our fellow man, whatever his nationality. As a result, teachers tended to blur over the differences which separate nations, to ignore factors of national interest and power, and to approach questions of international relations with a kind of virginal innocence and idealism. This approach, although useful in helping students establish goals for which the world should strive, did little to make the present world more understandable.

In an attempt to bridge the gap between what the students usually studied about the world in their classes and what they read about in the newspapers, the NCA Foreign Relations Project was founded in 1955. Over the decade of its existence, the Project has produced eleven pamphlets, each of which concentrates on an area of the world. Widely used through the country, these pamphlets are more often included as separate units in World History, American History, or Problems of Democracy courses than as the basic text for an International Relations course. Millions of high school youngsters have become acquainted with some aspect of the non-Western world by the inclusion of one or more of these Foreign Relations pamphlets in their required courses in social studies.

Although the principal thrust of the Foreign Relations Project has been

on America's stake or role in world affairs, each of the regional pamphlets incorporates some elements of the area approach, the assumption being that a student cannot make rational judgments about American foreign policy until he has some minimum understanding of the geography, history, culture, economic and political systems of the region he is studying.

In 1962, a book appeared which has had a major effect on the high school World History course. This text, A Global History of Man by Leften Stavrianos and others, was not the first World History textbook to break from a Western European approach to include chapters on the non-West. Stavrianos' primary contribution was to provide a new perspective for a course which had become almost unmanageable under the pressures to include more and more topics and areas. Stavrianos attempted a global history, describing the history of man as it might have appeared to an observer from Mars rather than how it appeared to a Frenchman, an Englishman, or an American. He boldly tried to make some sense of the past, ruthlessly cutting out what he deemed extraneous, and emphasizing those threads that he wanted a student to retain. By using a "Flashback" technique, he included only that history which he believed was needed to explain the present. By avoiding a detailed chronological narrative, Stavrianos freed space for a description of the geography, economic system, political system, and culture of each of the regions he included in his book.

Although the Foreign Relations Project, the Stavrianos book and others have done much to improve the teaching about the non-Western world in the secondary school social studies, there are indications that even greater progress lies just ahead. Especially promising are the special projects financed by the United States Office of Education under Project Social Studies and the National Science Foundation.¹¹

At Carnegie Institute of Technology, university scholars and high school teachers are working together to prepare a four-year sequential and cumulative curriculum in the social studies for able students, grades nine through twelve. The ninth grade course consists of a one-semester course in Comparative Political Systems and a one-semester course on Comparative Economic Systems. The approach in both courses, which compare primitive, Soviet and American systems, is more analytical than descriptive, more behavioral than institutional.

In Comparative Political Systems, students consider four major issues: Who are the leaders? How are decisions made? What is the role of the individual citizen? How is the political system related to the underlying ideology? Hopefully students will acquire a battery of analytical questions they can use to study other political systems.

The Carnegie Project's tenth grade course consists of a one-semester survey of the development of political, social, and economic systems in the West, and a one-semester course on four non-Western culture areas: Brazil, India, China, and the Republic of South Africa. Each unit begins with a study of the traditional culture, touches quickly on the impact of the West, and concentrates on one facet of contemporary life in the area. The attempt is made throughout to describe each culture according to the following constituent parts: its technical order, economic order, social system, power system, and sacred system.

By harnessing various disciplinary approaches to the study of each society, the Carnegie Tech project hopes to accomplish in a modest way what the graduate area studies centers strive for in principle: a student who is able to perceive a culture as a whole.

Instead of designing new courses to be introduced into the secondary

school curriculum, the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project is seeking to infuse existing world history courses with units on anthropology, many of these devoted to the non-West. Although little of the Project's work has been published, some predictions are possible. Units are being prepared on Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. The African unit will include a case study of a Nupe village, a book of readings on other African societies so that the student is not left with the impression that all African cultures resemble the Nupe, and recorded conversations with anthropologists in which they describe how they work in Africa. The Middle East unit consists of "tin types" which represent certain typical Middle Easterners--for example, a Bedouin who has gone to work in an oil field, or a Turkish peasant woman, or a Moroccan opium dealer. In addition the unit will include some crisis situations in the Middle East which it is hoped will illuminate the tensions between the traditional and modern in that area.

The Asian Studies Curriculum Project at the University of California is preparing materials on Asia for use in the schools. The Project is moving along a broad front: the preparation of guides for teachers, units on Asia which can be used in the elementary school, an elective course on Asia for the twelfth grade, and units to be plugged into existing World History courses.

The World History design is especially interesting. The goal is to prepare materials that teachers can give students that will lead to a comparative study of customs and institutions normally examined through Western perspectives only. Feudalism, for example, is usually examined through the idealized French model. The California Project will provide an opportunity for World History students to compare Western feudalism with feudalism in Japan or China.

The University of Illinois is developing materials for a three-year sequence for grades eight through ten. The eighth grade course consists of three broad units on the family, on political systems, and on economic systems. In the family unit students study the family as an institution, examining its function and purpose in colonial America, in modern America, and in a north Indian village. The ninth and tenth grade courses comprise a two-year sequence in World History, with the ninth year given primarily to a study of Western Europe and the tenth grade to units on the non-Western world.

The fact that the four projects described above are adequately-financed and are thereby able to draw on resources not normally available to individual schools or to individual authors tends to bring them to public attention. Nevertheless, there are many other less-publicized efforts going on as well that seem to be moving along similar paths.

Despite all the efforts being made to provide courses which include a treatment of the non-West and to publish books and materials on the non-Western world for students and teachers, success will not be achieved until there are teachers who have been adequately trained for the task. Since it is known that the colleges and universities have only recently given attention to including instruction on non-Western areas in undergraduate education, it is obvious that the vast majority of secondary school teachers have not had courses that would equip them for their new responsibilities.

The idea that teachers will require retraining if they are to teach about unfamiliar areas of the world is not new. What is new is that for the first time adequate financial resources are becoming available to accomplish the task of retraining elementary and secondary school teachers.

Approximately a decade ago the Asia Society took the lead by providing

funds to universities and colleges, enabling them to establish summer institutes for high school teachers. In addition, the Asia Society prepared teacher "kits", bibliographies of books and films, and a variety of other aids intended to assist a busy teacher trying to do a better job of teaching about Asia. The "Asia in the Classroom Project" encouraged some schools to offer courses on Asia where none had existed before. Through its own programs and by providing funds to support the efforts of others, the Asia Society has contributed significantly to teaching about Asia in secondary schools across the country.

Other groups have been interested in extending the teachers' knowledge of non-Western areas. The NCA Foreign Relations Project has conducted a number of three-day seminars for teachers throughout the mid-West, providing a first introduction to the study of the non-Western world for many teachers. The Service Center for Teachers of History of the American Historical Association has assisted both through the publication of the Service Center pamphlets and by its support for conferences for high school teachers held on university campuses. The opportunities available to secondary school teachers under the Fulbright-Hays programs which enable social studies teachers to teach abroad for an academic year or to participate in summer seminars in Brazil, India, Africa, and Iran as well as some countries of Western Europe have undoubtedly had an important effect on those teachers who have been privileged to participate.

The best state-wide program for preparing teachers to teach about the non-West is that being sponsored by the State Department of Education in New York. Not only has attention been given to providing an international dimension to the pre-service education of teachers, but in-service programs have been launched as well. Summer institutes, academic-year courses, and

special conferences are just a few of the activities that have enabled hundreds of secondary school social studies teachers to increase their knowledge of the non-Western world. Some teachers have been selected to study abroad under this program.

Despite the immense gains which have resulted from these efforts and others that could not be included in this paper, future programs may make all previous efforts seem puny by comparison. The massive financial support now available through the federal government to support a variety of programs to retrain teachers challenges the capacity of the academic community to provide staff and to spend money wisely.

Especially noteworthy are the opportunities available to teachers under NDEA Title XI institutes. During summer, 1965, 84 history institutes were held on various university and college campuses across the country. More than 3000 teachers attended these institutes, 26 of which were devoted to a study of the non-Western world. During summer, 1966, over 100 history institutes are planned which will serve approximately 5000 social studies teachers. In addition, many teachers will attend academic-year institutes on a part-time basis.

The Higher Education Act, only recently signed into law, authorized 24,500 fellowships over a three-year period at a total cost of \$475 million. These fellowships will provide opportunities for teachers to return to universities to complete advanced degrees and to pursue special programs.

The major question at this time is not whether there will be adequate funds, but whether the expenditure of these funds will achieve optimal results. Courses designed to train specialists in language and area centers are not likely to be appropriate for a secondary teacher who must know a little about several non-Western areas. The experience of the NDEA summer

institutes is that careful planning is required if that which the teacher learns during the summer is to have maximum pay-off in his own classes during the following year. Scholars in the disciplines must take the time and effort that is required to learn what the schools are like and what kind of instruction will be of greatest value to high school teachers.

It is clear that the opportunity to expand the teaching about non-Western areas in the secondary schools is greater today than it has ever been. Much has already been done. Courses including units on the non-West are becoming increasingly popular; more and better books and materials are being produced. Funds are now available to prepare teachers for teaching about unfamiliar areas of the world. It remains only to determine whether scholars in colleges and universities, recognizing the possibilities that exist and drawing upon their special experience and knowledge derived from intensive study and research in non-Western areas, can design programs that will fit the interests and requirements of the secondary schools.

NOTES

1. Perhaps the most extensive effort to build an international dimension into all classes and grade levels is the program at Glens Falls, New York, described in Harold M. Long and Robert N. King. Improving the Teaching of World Affairs: The Glens Falls Story. Bulletin No. 35, National Council for the Social Studies, 1964.
2. The statistics which follow are the most recent available, are based on public high school enrollments only, and are taken from James N. Eshelman and James F. Dershem. Foreign Language Offerings and Enrollments in Public Secondary Schools, Fall 1963. New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1965. Comparable statistics for non-public secondary schools--"independent" and Catholic--were not available. However, a report based on a 1962 census concerning grades seven to twelve for public, independent, and Catholic schools does provide some opportunity for comparison. Total student population for grades seven to twelve in 1962 was as follows: public schools, 14, 172, 358; independent schools, 232, 676; Catholic schools, 957, 484; total enrollment, 15, 362, 518. Percent of students enrolled in all foreign languages compared to total student enrollment was: public schools, 24.8 percent; independent schools, 75.4 percent; and Catholic schools, 76.1 percent. More than one-half of the foreign language enrollment in Catholic schools was in Latin, followed by French and Spanish. Nearly one-half of the foreign language enrollment in independent schools was in French, followed by Latin and Spanish. While it is clear that students in non-public schools are much more likely to study a foreign language than are students in public schools, over ninety percent of the total secondary school enrollment is in public schools. James N. Eshelman and Nancy W. Lian. Foreign Language Offerings and Enrollments in Secondary Schools, Public Schools: Fall 1961 and Fall 1962 and Non-public Schools: Fall 1962. New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1964.
3. It is important to keep in mind that the figures are based on total enrollments. Therefore those students who were enrolled in more than one language were counted twice. However, the figures also fail to show that many students had taken foreign language but were not enrolled in language that year.
4. Frederick H. Jackson. "Instruction in Chinese and Japanese in the Secondary Schools." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. 356 (November, 1964) 113-118.
5. The statistics which follow on secondary school social studies offerings are from Bertram A. Masia. Profile of the Current Secondary Social Studies Curriculum in North Central Association Schools. NCA Foreign Relations Project, 1963.
6. Emlyn Jones. "Social Studies Requirements in an Age of Science and Mathematics." Social Education. 27 (January, 1963) 18.
7. Of course a complete list of all the courses that are available in one high school or another would include many more course titles. Courses in Russian history, Far Eastern history, etc. do exist, but they are distinguished more by their absence than their presence.

NOTES CONTINUED

8. Aurie N. Dunlap. The Teaching of International Relations in the Schools. (Unpublished study completed in 1965).
9. Stanley N. Miller. "The World Cultures Course." Social Education 26 (February, 1962) 69-70.
10. A description of the Wisconsin plan is contained in A Conceptual Framework for the Social Studies in Wisconsin Schools. Wisconsin Office of Public Instruction, Curriculum Bulletin No. 74, 1964.
11. For a brief description of the various social studies projects, the reader should consult "Report on Project Social Studies." Social Education 29 (April, 1965) 206-227.

Princeton University Conference on
Foreign Languages and Area Studies in the United States:
A Guide for High School and College Programs

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The Coordination of High School and Undergraduate Studies
in Non-Western Languages and Cultures

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This report takes as a premise the desirability of including the study of "non-Western" languages and cultures (i.e. Asian, African, Middle Eastern, Oceanian, Arctic, and Latin-American) in secondary school and college curricula. It acknowledges and supports the position of William Theodore DeBary in his paper entitled "Education for a World Community" delivered at Princeton University in October, 1964, which reminds us of the importance of a basic training in and understanding of our own tradition, and stresses the basic humanistic values of non-Western studies as opposed to the "opportunistic" criteria often invoked in this period of continuing world crisis. At the same time it acknowledges that the present inquiry is spurred more particularly by the recent reports of the Committee on the College and World Affairs and the Committee on the University and World Affairs, as well as those by the Commission on International Understanding of the Association of American Colleges, the American Council on Education, the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (November, 1964), and Percy W. Bidwell's Undergraduate Education in Foreign Affairs. All of these excellent contributions are limited, however, to the field of higher education. They describe a rapidly

changing scene, and concur in suggesting continued and more intensive efforts to internationalize our education in the colleges and universities. Viewing the literature as a whole, what is perhaps most striking is the uneven quality of development, the variety of responses and approaches, and the enormous gaps between and within the institutions of higher learning. In a word, there are as yet no standards or norms which can be taken as describing the requirements or offerings in non-Western languages and cultures in American colleges and universities.

Matching the uncertainty and flux at the higher level is the curriculum crisis of the secondary school. Faced with a veritable revolution in the sciences, the impact of the social sciences, growing community and civic challenges, and continued pressures from the colleges, secondary school teachers and administrators find their task considerably complicated by the fact that there is as yet no agreement within the colleges on the role or shape of non-Western studies. Although the body of this paper will be devoted to a description of what actually is being done to bring high school and college programs into relationship a few preliminary generalizations may appropriately be attempted.

First: Mathematics and the natural sciences seem to have developed a fairly stable order of study which is based on the necessity of learning certain things before further progress is possible. Thus a curriculum proceeding from elementary school, through high school and on to college is widely accepted. Second: The same type of necessary sequence would appear to be applicable to languages with three important questions yet to be answered: a) at what point should foreign language study commence? (The answer usually given is, the earlier the better); b) which languages should be studied?; c) what procedure is best for teaching the language?

These questions need not be answered directly in this paper, but we shall see how the problem is being met in various programs. Our third general statement relates to social sciences and to cultural courses. Here there seems to be no universal agreement relating to priorities and necessities except for courses in American history and similar courses relating to citizenship training, and perhaps English literature. Finally, when we turn to the non-Western areas, whether treated by infusion within the social sciences and humanities or as discreet units, on every level of education the problem of sequence is equally perplexing.

The attempt to coordinate non-Western studies on the secondary and undergraduate level therefore is subject to variables on both levels. The problem would be simpler if high schools had their accepted curricula and colleges then worked from that base, or if colleges established their own base through requirements and forced the high schools to meet them. Judging from what has happened in the sciences this second possibility is the most likely to occur within the next decade. Such standardization can take place most easily in states or communities where a single institution of higher learning draws the majority of high school graduates and trains, in turn, the majority of teachers. Other types of colleges are rarely in a position to unilaterally impose their standards upon the larger educational community. As a result, a variety of methods are employed to enforce, attract, and persuade the schools to come into line with the changing college objectives. In all fairness, it must be added that the schools, through agencies such as the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges, in the midwest, and the Office of Foreign Area Studies of the State Education Department in New York, have a powerful effect in bringing the attention of colleges to their needs. What

-4-

follows is a description of this interplay in several important regions of the country.

As suggested above, foreign language programs lend themselves rather easily to definite patterns and sequences. Once American education had freed itself from the shackles of formalism (that is the ritualistic study of Latin and Greek), and had adopted a modern interpretation of language as a means of communication it became obvious that language study might require sequences of years which had to commence seriously at the pre-college level. Requirements have varied from decade to decade and fashions of choice have also changed, but it must be admitted that the idea of two to four years of language study (at the better high schools) followed by several years at college has never been very seriously questioned since World War I. With rare exception, however, language study on both secondary and undergraduate levels was limited to classical and Western European languages.

Following World War II, in the wake of the Cold War and Sputnik, an interest in Russian began to be manifest on the secondary school level. Yet as late as 1958 only 14 schools, the majority of which were private, were teaching Russian. This was perhaps a small departure, but it was significant, for it marked a first venture into the non-Western language domain. The development of East European and Slavic programs was encouraged by the U.S. Government along with concern for the fields of language and linguistics. The Conference on Modern Foreign Languages in the High School, sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education in May, 1957, brought together high school teachers, administrators, college professors, representatives of educational and learned societies, as well as government officials, and marked the beginning of a pattern of which the present

conference is only the latest manifestation. At the 1957 conference great attention was placed on the development of Russian in the schools, but little hope was expressed for the more "exotic" languages. For instance, Professor Frank Merlino, then editor of the Modern Language Journal, and Chairman of the Department of Romance Languages at Boston University declared:

Much as we would like to have many of the "unusual" languages included in the high school curricula throughout the country, I can't see how an American community, wherever it may be, in New York City, perhaps, or Chicago, or San Francisco, could admit in any significant way the presence of one of the "unusual" languages. I'm not opposed to it at all. Far from it. It is just the reality of the situation that leads me to say this. For these languages not offered in our high schools I would like to see the government take over in terms of subsidizing the limited activities that would come to view....¹

It should be noted that the most important impetus to the Russian development was the establishment of Russian in the curriculum of several leading universities, and, with the support of foundations and the government, the creation of graduate centers. Occasionally teachers who had been exposed to Russian in college displayed their enthusiasm in secondary school classrooms. This led to a demand which was met in the more progressive schools. Gradually Russian was taken up on a limited scale throughout the country.

Chinese and Japanese, however, made their appearance in the high schools largely through implantation by the colleges. The existence of Chinese and/or Japanese communities in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago and New York in fact made the task easier. For although these communities

¹Modern Foreign Languages in the High School, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, OE-27005, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958 (1962) p.37

played little role in the organization of such classes, their presence was an important talking point in approaches to school boards in those areas. In 1961, almost simultaneously, programs were established in the San Francisco area, in the Boston area, in the New York area and in St. Louis. San Francisco State University and Seton Hall University on the West and East coasts respectively, received support from the Office of Education and the Carnegie Corporation to develop Chinese teaching materials for the secondary schools, train teachers and introduce programs in local schools. At the same time the Thayer Academy established a summer program, with the support of the Carnegie Corporation, serving as a high school center for the Boston area. Quite independently, Washington University in St. Louis introduced a Chinese program at the Mark Twain Summer Institute for Academically Talented Students. In the following year the Carnegie Corporation undertook to subsidize this program as well. Thus, although the government has not to date stepped in to support these programs directly, the Carnegie Corporation undertook the role forecast by Dr. Merlino five years earlier.

Today, in addition to the above-mentioned programs, there are also Carnegie Corporation-supported general programs in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York and St. Louis. The programs in Chicago, Los Angeles and St. Louis offer both Chinese and Japanese. The interrelationship between high school and college is obvious. From the first, all of the above-mentioned programs, with the exception of Chicago, have been conceived, organized, financed and supervised through universities (San Francisco State, Southern California, Washington at St. Louis, Seton Hall, Columbia). In each university, one or more faculty member, and often the chairman of the Asian Language Department, directly works with and in

the schools in the area. In most cases classes are held both in the high schools and on the university campuses. At Columbia University, classes in Chinese are carried out at James Monroe High School, which serves as a center for as many as fifty high schools, while additional optional classes are held on the Columbia campus on Saturday mornings. The same pattern has existed in St. Louis for the past three years, except that in addition to the campus classes some six high schools have daily classes or four times weekly "centers" for Chinese and Japanese.

The fact that the sponsoring universities also were engaged in teacher training and/or material preparation, meant that the closest possible liaison could be maintained with the schools. The extent of such liaison can be shown through a profile of the St. Louis program, organized and directed by the writer.

The nucleus of the St. Louis program was the Mark Twain Summer Institute in the suburbs of St. Louis. Each summer some 600 talented students enroll in one of twenty six-week courses for subjects not ordinarily available in their own schools. They attend for three and a half hours daily, and receive no credit. Such students are 100 per cent college bound. While the original intention was to expose the students to a non-Indo-European language as a general educational experience, it soon became apparent that such students, if properly guided could use the experience to great advantage in college. Hence the program became college-oriented. It was guaranteed that each student who entered the program and maintained satisfactory performance levels would be trained in Chinese or Japanese until he entered college. Since college work at the second or third level necessitated a good reading knowledge of the language, despite a general orientation toward oral-aural training in the early phases,

exceptional stress was placed on reading abilities. A winter program was established to supplement on a three-hour weekly basis the intensive summer experience. (This approach was also used at the Thayer Program in Boston.) On this basis one year of high school work became very much equivalent to one year of ordinary college work. Realization that the Mark Twain students were accomplishing more than the undergraduates at Washington University, led the University department to double and then virtually to triple its own hour requirements and speed. Hence at present one year of work at the high school level is counted as being about equal to one semester of college work.

The success of the Mark Twain Summer and Winter Program led the Carnegie Corporation to encourage the establishment of Chinese in some six additional local high schools, under the supervision of Washington University. The university undertook to train and recruit teachers for the purpose. In three schools teachers already on the staff with extraordinary interest or background in Asian languages were given opportunities for summer and/or year-round courses in language and teaching methods. In addition, two experienced teachers were brought in from college programs in the East. In every case the teachers selected as texts for the high schools books which they had employed for their own studies (Yale and De Francis in Chinese; Jorden, Niwa and Han in Japanese.) Hence, the materials used in the high schools in the St. Louis area are identical with the most commonly used college texts. The same is true for taped materials and other supporting media. (By contrast, the San Francisco programs use materials especially prepared for secondary school students.)

Articulation of aims and standards is achieved through several means:

- 1) a supervising board consisting of the director of the program, who is

also chairman of the Department of Chinese and Japanese at Washington University; the coordinator, who is a former high school counsellor and an admissions officer of the university; the director of the Graduate Institute of Education; a high school principal who was formerly director of the Mark Twain Institute; and a member of the university's Asian language staff. Basic principals and policies are established and reviewed by this Board.

2) Membership of the university staff engaged in the program and the high school teachers in the Chinese Language Teachers Association (MLA), and its sub-group, the Association of Secondary School Teachers of Chinese, which meets annually and maintains a regular newsletter.

3) The longstanding but informal association of the directors of the various programs throughout the country, initiated originally by the Modern Language Association.

4) The fact that all programs are in the hands of middle and senior rank professors who are in close contact with professional developments at the undergraduate and graduate levels throughout the country. For instance, the director is also a member of the Committee of Undergraduate Education of the Association for Asian Studies, and is Vice-President of the Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs.

5) The establishment of a Seminar on Asian Studies for Secondary School Teachers, drawing together some 25 teachers and professors in the St. Louis area each month, in which each of the participating high schools is represented.

6) The use of standard textbook series which make it possible to develop a familiar sequence that enables advisors to place the high school graduates at the proper language class levels when they enter college.

The problem of articulation in the language field, then, is not at all acute, so long as student programs are planned in such manner as to avoid completion of the high school sequence prematurely, that is, more than one summer before they enter college. In fact, even this summer is covered now since NDEA summer grants are available to high school seniors with at least one year of Chinese or Japanese studies.

A second problem requiring attention is the placement of students in appropriate colleges. Colleges which, after much effort, have finally introduced a two or three year sequence of Chinese or Japanese do not offer sufficient language training for graduates of the St. Louis high school programs. Hence they must be guided to the larger programs and centers. For this purpose, the presence of a college admissions specialist on the St. Louis program board is extremely useful. Each student is given special counseling. Hence at this moment, there are freshmen and sophomores at schools such as Georgetown University, Washington University, Columbia, the Universities of Washington (Seattle), Michigan and Michigan State, who are in their third, fourth or even fifth year of Chinese.

Columbia University has gone even farther than Washington University, introducing a special seminar on the translation of Chinese scientific materials for secondary school students. Whereas students from the St. Louis program generally move into the fields of language and literature, history, political science and Oriental art history, but often tend thus to exclude themselves from the scientific field. Professor Maeth, who directs the Columbia program is performing a valued service in also providing for scientifically talented high school students.

The approaches of such programs as that of the Thayer Academy in the Boston area, Columbia University, the Mark Twain Institute, Washington

University, and others with which I am less familiar, are admittedly elitist, hence there are no conflicts with college programs. It is possible, however, that programs for less highly selected students, which do not stress reading and writing abilities sufficiently at early stages, unless sustained over a three or four year period, will produce students who cannot enter college programs with ease. It would be worthwhile in the near future for the Modern Language Association or the Office of Education to contract for a study of the experience of this first generation of secondary school students in Chinese and Japanese at the college level.

The pattern which has emerged for Chinese and Japanese seems duplicated in the field of Arabic. Here a good case in point is the program at Portland, Oregon. Woodrow Wilson High School offers two years of the language to some 25 students in a program initiated and sponsored by Portland State College. The program is carried on by a team of university and high school teachers who presently divide the responsibility for the two levels of Arabic offered at the high school. By next year, as a result of the teacher-training program at the College, both teachers will be regular members of the high school staff. In addition to offering teachers nominated by the high school three years of Arabic, arrangements were made to provide travel and training in Cairo for the nominees. The professor teaching at the high school has been given released time from his regular academic duties at the college and receives special compensation from the Portland School Board. With such close and enthusiastic cooperation on both sides, there can be little doubt but that students graduating from the high school program will be given every necessary attention to ensure their proper placement at the college level.

It is clear from these examples that the field of non-Western, or

"unusual" languages, because of its intimate relationship with college centers from the outset, and because it is dominated by enthusiastic advocates, who are well-placed in the administrative structures of universities, can be developed in a coordinated manner with surprisingly little overlap, few gaps and relatively little wastage. The question remains as to whether larger programs should and can grow from the existing nuclei, whether the existing and future programs can sustain themselves in terms of financial, student and teacher support, and whether growth will lead to deterioration from the present high level of coordination.

The teaching of non-Western culture, on the other hand, has far less coherence. It is relatively easier to find teachers to handle non-Western cultural courses (primarily history, world civilizations, world literature, art, religion), but such teachers may have questionable competence. Wherever serious efforts are being made to introduce non-Western culture to the high schools, problems of curriculum development and teacher-training are taken up almost simultaneously. As in the case of the non-Western languages, a number of local, state, regional and national agencies and professional bodies are attacking the problem purposefully. But here the resemblance ends if for no other reason than the vastly different scales involved. Before describing some major efforts at high school-college coordination, it may be worthwhile to consider briefly the relationship between the language and cultural programs as they seem to exist at the moment.

Today the common pattern in the development of non-Western studies at the undergraduate level appears to be the introduction of an area course or discipline offering focused on the area, followed some time later (if at all) by the introduction of the appropriate language.

Fairly frequently the language itself is introduced by the area course instructor. Thus language seems to follow culture. But on the high school level the reverse is to a large extent true. High School language courses often have a great deal of "cultural" content which stimulates the interest of the students, teachers and administration. Consequently more attention is paid to the place of non-Western areas in world civilization and history courses, and experimentation may then be attempted. Such was the case at Woodrow Wilson High School in Portland, and such has been the case, too, in the St. Louis and Boston areas. Further, as at the John Burroughs School in St. Louis, some high schools have built whole units around the world area in which the language is taught. At Burroughs a team of three teachers provides courses on the art, history and religions of Asia to accompany the Japanese language project. The library has developed a respectable Asian collection in the process. On a more general level, the Mark Twain Program of Washington University sponsors a cultural series which brings to the high schools offering Asian languages, distinguished artists and performers throughout the year. In addition a course in Chinese painting is available to both the Asian language students and their fellow-students who do not study the language. A weekly film series is also presented featuring documentary and film classics from Asia. Students are welcomed to appropriate university lectures, and university faculty are frequently invited to participate in high school academic functions.

More generally, however, the vast problems involved in augmenting and modifying existing curricula mean that for the humanities and social studies large-scale coordinated planning and development is necessary. Perhaps the outstanding efforts in this direction to date are those undertaken in the states of Indiana and New York. The coordination in New York

rests with the Office of Foreign Area Studies which covers a range of activities from curriculum development in the schools to the training and retraining of teachers, the development of seminars and workshops, and the preparation of bibliographies and teaching guides. It is a full-scale approach which is already bearing fruit. The guidance and encouragement of this office has led to important developments in teacher training programs at the State Universities (such as New Paltz) where general area courses as well as more specialized non-Western courses are a regular feature in the curriculum. Opportunities are provided for supervisors, department chairmen and other key social studies teachers to attend special summer sessions on Asian areas both in the United States and in Asia. Participants must assure the Office that they will return to secondary school service following the course. The New York program may perhaps be fairly summarized as one in which the objective is to ensure that every student in New York will have at least minimal exposure to a non-Western area at the lower levels, opportunity for deeper exposure at the upper level in high school, and adequate facilities for further exposure and specialization at the college level.

The state of Indiana has witnessed the purposive development of college-high school relationships through the establishment at Indiana University of several School Coordinators. The program was initiated in 1957 with the appointment of a science coordinator. In 1959 additional coordinators for school foreign languages and school social studies were appointed to the faculty. Other coordinators have since been appointed. These coordinators have joint appointments in the College of Arts and Sciences and the School of Education. All have been high school teachers and have taught as well on the college level. While no area study

coordinator exists comparable to the Director of the Office of Foreign Area Studies in New York, in fact the social science coordinator has paid close attention to the problem of developing interest in non-Western areas. The coordinator visits classrooms, consults with teachers, administrators and parent groups, plans in-service training programs, works with the State Department of Public Instruction on curriculum revision for the secondary schools, prepares proposals for grants, summer institutes, curriculum development; works on textbooks, participates in national professional organizations, counsels freshman and teachers returning to the campus, conducts conferences for teachers, and maintains liaison with scholars throughout the country. The writer has attended a number of conferences which have been jointly sponsored with the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges, in which large numbers of teachers have been given opportunities for a first introduction to the non-Western world. Their response was enthusiastic and in several cases led to enrollments for further study.

The coordinators, as can be seen, have full-time jobs. Their promotions are secured through service rather than scholarly publication, and they are provided with secretaries and travel budgets. Thus they are free to maximize their efforts. One result of this was the adoption of a new state curriculum which established non-Western Area Studies in the 7th (pre-high school) grade, and a one to two year sequence in world history at the 9th, 10th or 11th grade, of which one half is devoted to the non-Western world. In addition, requirements for the Master of Arts in Teaching include one year of world history (including the non-Western world) at the graduate level. In the coming summer, the coordinator for social sciences will direct an NDEA eight-week world history institute. Such institutes focus heavily on the areas of our present interest.

An important beginning has also been made in the neighboring state of Illinois with the appointment of Robert A. Waller, Assistant Professor of history at the University of Illinois (Champaign) to a position somewhat analogous to that of the coordinator in Indiana. Professor Waller's assignment is to represent the Department of History to the high schools of the state. Three of his major functions are directly related to non-Western area studies: 1) establishment of an NDEA summer institute in Modern Asian Civilizations; 2) development of an Articulation Program; 3) development of teacher-training curriculum. The Articulation Program is carried forward through two yearly conferences on the university campus. Each Spring half of all the social studies teachers in each high school are invited to participate. At the conference teachers are familiarized with the types of courses taught at the university, and in turn provide information on what is being taught in the high schools. This then serves as a guide for curriculum development both for the schools and for the university. In addition special conferences are held on specific subjects. This month, for instance, a special conference on Indian-Pakistani relations is being conducted for teachers. Another evidence of the integration of high school and university planning is the new curriculum in the teaching of social studies, which offers for the first time, in addition to a one-year survey of non-American history, an option of six advanced hours either in European or non-Western history.

Undoubtedly the promising efforts in New York, Indiana and Illinois are being paralleled in other regions of the country. All of them deal with the two basic problems of curriculum revision and teacher-training and retraining. All of them occur in regions where strong non-Western Studies Centers exist at eminent universities. It is doubtful, however,

whether regions lacking such strong centers can bring about the kind of significant changes noted above. For the existence of a coordinating agency only provides a mechanism and cannot in itself fulfill the curriculum revision and teacher-training functions.

Fortunately, the interest of college associations and particularly of the Office of Education makes possible inter-regional conferences and reports, and in particular the National Defense Education Act opens the way for a variety of institutes dealing with non-Western languages and cultures. These conferences and institutes serve to stimulate teachers and administrators but unfortunately they take place only where and when someone is interested in the first instance. Thus in the last analysis those areas with the greatest development, and in which the greatest interest is already shown, are best served.

There seems, then, to be no substitute for strong college and university interest in local education, and perhaps the most encouraging thing that can be said of non-Western studies in high schools at the moment, is that many colleges seem to be responding to the challenge, and particularly so in the non-Western field, where the missionary spirit is perhaps still strong. Yet curriculum revision and adoption will only be less than damaging when competent teachers are available, and this in turn will depend to a great extent on the success of teacher-training programs only now being introduced, and even more on teacher-retraining. For the majority of teachers are already in the classrooms!

In conclusion, some suggestions may be appropriately offered in the interest of improving and quickening the development of related high school and undergraduate programs. These recommendations fall under two categories: a) articulation of programs, and b) implementation.

a) Articulation of programs:

Although enthusiasm and initiative are generally preferable to regulation, (some of our best local programs are spontaneous and haphazard--but work), in the long run it is a disservice to a student and school to offer programs for which teachers are inadequately prepared, materials are lacking, and a meaningful study sequence from high school to college is missing. Some consideration must be given to the limits of programs. For instance, it is probably not desirable to attempt more than survey courses and general civilizations courses on the secondary level unless there is an extraordinarily well-prepared teacher available. Such courses should not be bogged down with detail, but should offer a broad view of a culture or its literature. For instance, a historical survey should awaken an interest in man's behavior as a whole, should instill a sense of empathy, and perhaps most of all should, in the words of my colleague, Peter Reisenberg, "command a sense of respect for the power of the past"--not only for our own culture but for all cultures. The details, the refinements and the more subtle theories should be left to the colleges. On the other hand, students with an understanding of the broad sweep of a non-Western culture should be enabled through Advanced Placement Examinations to move on more rapidly to the advanced level courses at college. The college survey course at an elementary level should be reserved for those who have not had the opportunity for previous general exposure.

It should be entirely possible, as is now being proved in several St. Louis high schools, to include non-Western materials in courses on art and literature, and to include non-Western examples in other social science and humanities courses. Japanese Noh plays might be a fitting accompaniment to the study of Western dramatic classics; the Confucian Analects

and the Koran can be dealt with together with the Bible. Cross-continental and trans-oceanic thinking can liven up almost any course without pretending to develop a special knowledge of the non-Western world and without sacrificing attention and respect for our own Western heritage. This suggests that one of the real problems in articulation and curriculum development is the need for more attention to possible non-Western components within the existing courses and perhaps less to the development of vast world civilization units. At the high school level a first step in the integration of West and non-West can take place profitably.

b) Implementation of programs:

Non-Western language courses will require subsidization for some time to come. This can be most effectively done through grants to university centers which are able and willing to assume the responsibility, following the pattern so excellently established by the Carnegie Corporation. A second form of subsidization might well be for students, who narrow their selection of colleges to the most difficult colleges to enter since the majority of smaller colleges do not offer advanced language training for them. Either the foundations or the federal government might well assume this burden. As these students with high school training go through the colleges, we will produce our first well-qualified generation of non-native teachers of "unusual" languages. At that point part of the problem will have been solved.

The present shortage of language teachers requires the wide-scale recruiting of native speakers and teachers who, despite often substantial qualifications to teach their languages, frequently cannot meet state certification requirements. An examination of this problem at the highest level is in order, and an inter-State conference on the problem might

well rapidly achieve a satisfactory solution at least for the next few years.

Many of the high school language programs have used "circuit-riding" teachers to cover classes in several neighboring schools. It may be suggested that this device be used for the immediate introduction and strengthening of non-Western area courses in selected schools on a national scale. In many cases such teachers could be college faculty members who would be relieved of one or two regular courses in order to devote one or two semesters to actual high school classroom teaching. They would at the same time serve as "master-teachers" and consultants for local high school faculty. In other cases the teacher would be a regular high school teacher with special training in one or more non-Western areas, whose time would be shared by two or three schools, much as is presently the case with music, art, and other teachers of particular specialties.

Major non-Western centers should follow the example of the Illinois and Indiana programs and appoint to their staffs specialists whose particular duty would be the development of high school relations.

Colleges should make an effort to publicize for high school teachers and students special events, exhibitions and performances appropriate to their interests. Coordination with local museums and theaters could extend this phase of activity. It is the responsibility of the non-Western center to create as well as satisfy the interest of students and teachers in the lesser-known areas of the world. It is also to the interest of colleges to do so in order to assure themselves of a superior student population.

Where one or two universities with their own advance placement tests do not dominate the higher education scene, inter-college conferences might well develop satisfactory and generally accepted advanced placement

examinations in non-Western courses which would serve the dual purposes of guiding high school curriculum planners and enabling colleges to concentrate on advanced studies.

Regional professional conferences should make special efforts to attract high school teachers. For in the last analysis the high school teacher can be the professor's best friend.

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A Guide for High School and College Programs

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Curricular Methods of Introducing Foreign Area Studies

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The role of foreign area studies in undergraduate education has been a much discussed topic for over a decade. A number of recent publications have again highlighted the need for the expansion of foreign area studies in American colleges. Most of the discussion has centered upon two basic approaches: one, to provide general education with a broader and deeper international context, and two, to provide greater opportunities for selected undergraduates to begin training in foreign area studies as an important preparation for continued study at the graduate level. It is my intention to write about foreign area studies and development of curricula from both standpoints.

Foreign Area Studies and General Education

It has been said many times in recent years that undergraduates should be educated in ways that will enable them to respond intelligently to a world characterized by a plurality of cultures and pervasive change.¹ Students need to understand better their own culture and their position in it and also to understand

other cultures and their relationship to them. Most important, they must be aware of common aspirations and fundamental problems that cut across cultures. They must be increasingly aware that all people are involved in a common undertaking and share a common vision. While this kind of awareness and understanding is most often the product of individual experience over a long period of time -- a kind of personal maturing, there is no reason why the educational process cannot begin to impart a world view that is both compassionate and realistic. Colleges can certainly improve the ways in which young men and women study not only their own culture but the cultures of other peoples throughout the world. This is one way to help them to realize that there are bonds uniting men in a true community -- "not the passing world scene but what men have more deeply in common as a basis for coming together."²

The manner in which foreign area studies are to be related to general education will vary from college to college. Many different methods will be used because of the diversity of needs, purposes, and capabilities of different kinds of educational institutions. It is important, however, that there be some basic agreement between administration, faculty, and students on the role that foreign area studies are to play in terms of general education. There are two ways that curricula are already being affected. One is the application to teaching of basic research trends in the social science and humanities disciplines. The other is the addition of new kinds of general education courses that focus upon one or more foreign civilizations.

Developments in the Disciplines

Social scientists increasingly realize that data on all significant societies in the world are important to the theoretical growth of their disciplines. More of them now recognize that generalizations should be based on as broad a range of comparable data as possible. As Professor Milton Singer has pointed out, "theories about man and his behavior should be tested through study of man in all the richness of his experience." "The new nations are our living laboratories for the study of elite groups, of the economics of development, of the forms of value systems, the political purposes, urbanization -- or the forces that block or promote change."³ Professor Singer goes on to describe this trend in greater detail:

The anthropology of the 1960's does not deny the diversity of cultures; rather, it takes it for granted and goes on to use comparisons to discover or establish universal principles and similarities. The other social sciences, on the contrary, are moving in the opposite direction. They are becoming more aware of the facts of cultural variability and are adopting the comparative approach to temper their penchant for universal generalizations. Cross-cultural psychology, comparative politics, comparative economics, comparative sociology, comparative education, comparative law, comparative philosophy have become active fields of inquiry in which non-Western areas figure prominently as objects of comparison. The parent disciplines have not, as a result, surrendered their commitment to universality; they are, however, more prepared to test that commitment against the known variability of institutions and cultural forms. In this testing, many generalizations will probably be found wanting and will be replaced by new ones.

The results of these kinds of research are already beginning to infuse the undergraduate curriculum with new life. Old courses are being revised on the basis of new data and new ones focusing upon economic, social, and political change are being added to curricula. The potential for continued development along this line is greater than most educators realize.

Teaching in the humanities is already undergoing a similar change as a result of research on hitherto neglected foreign cultures. More historians have the competence to teach about foreign civilizations, and more are interested in the process of interaction between Western civilization and the civilizations of Asia. Their colleagues in other humanistic disciplines now expose students to the literature, thought, values, and aesthetic expression of other civilizations.

Professor Albert H. Merckwardt has recently written on this point in the context of an explanation of the relationship of the humanities to the social sciences in area studies programs:⁴

What, then, is the potential contribution of the study of the literature, the art, the music, and the philosophy of the area?

The answer to this question lies in great part in the difference between abstract and concrete, the distinction between communicating and experiencing. Certainly, in terms of broad purpose, the social science and humanistic components of a foreign-area program are directed toward the same goal. I am inclined to believe that we have overstressed the differences between the two and have failed to see the similarities. Nevertheless, a great work of literature will put into terms of concrete experience the values, concepts, and ways of life which the social scientist is likely to treat in the abstract or at best in detail less powerful than that which serves to make concrete the Weltanschauung of a great poet, novelist, or dramatist.

...Folklore also serves a useful purpose in much the same way. For one thing, in many cultures it occupies a much stronger position than it does with us. For another, although many of its themes and motifs are international, it is the selection of theme and the manner of narration that is often revealing.

...Philosophy constitutes an even more direct expression of the thought and values of a culture, although the amount and quality of philosophic writing vary considerably in different parts of the world, as does the degree to which it may represent the culture as a whole. Upon occasion, it may be a valuable aid in comprehending the essentials of the life and thought of a people; at other times it may be typical of only a small segment or may actually serve to mislead the observer.

...Art, architecture, and music, as component elements of area study, whether Western or non-Western, may conveniently be studied in terms of the creative process and of form, symbol, and value.

It is quite clear, however, that the college cannot expect to transmit the totality of man's experience to its students. It must accept the fact that in all fields of learning the great body of human knowledge can no longer be taught to one man. To transmit to the student, even in outline form, the context within which the major ideas and institutions of Western man have emerged, and to mention or classify each of them at least once in four years, is a formidable if not impossible task. If the college adopts the premise that liberal learning should be universal in outlook, drawing upon the experience and outlook of all peoples and cultures, the task becomes absolutely impossible. Increasingly the emphasis must therefore be upon utilizing greater selectivity and on developing more effective approaches to knowledge.

The comparative approach offers one promising and practical way of getting at the overall problem. It helps to maintain the unity of the curriculum, since it is an effective means to learn about several or more civilizations. Juxtaposing the different philosophical, artistic, and literary expressions of several societies, for the purposes of analytical comparison by students, need not be confined to the materials of Western civilization. Professor Marckwardt has described some possibilities as follows:⁵

In much the same way, the approach to a foreign culture could profit from just such contrastive studies. They would highlight the points of difference between certain aspects of Western and the particular non-Western culture to be studied and also permit one to take advantage of whatever points of similarity do exist. There are, for example,

likenesses between baroque and certain types of Far Eastern literature and art, and certainly an experience of the one provides an entry to the understanding of the other. Similar observations might be made about the picaresque tale in Renaissance Europe and Japan, or between some aspects of early Christian and African art. From these similarities, one can proceed to the more definitely marked contrasts.

F. Champion Ward, another advocate of this approach, has offered more concrete examples:⁶

There would be no radical novelty for incoherence, and presumably much edification, in instituting such comparisons between say, the rule of conduct set forth in the Bhagavad Gita and that expounded by Kant, between Machiavelli's theories of statecraft and those of Chanakya, between Iqbal and Nietzsche, Confucius and Montaigne, Aesop and the Panchatantra, the Iliad and the Ramayana, Chartres and Nikko, Pompeii and Petra, the opera according to Peking and that according to Bayreuth.

While the comparative approach is generally sound and often dramatically effective, its utilization gives rise to a number of important questions. One that quickly comes to mind concerns its applicability in view of the still limited development of non-Western studies in the disciplines. It is true, for example, that the disciplines tend more and more to include Asian data and experience in their problem spectra, a trend to be welcomed for it helps to break down the barriers that long separated Asian studies from the main streams of scholarly and intellectual life. But it is equally clear that, because our knowledge of non-Western cultures and societies is generally imperfect and fragmentary, the comparative approach is most successful when limited to those ideas, artistic expressions, and institutions which have been carefully defined and studied. Professors should try to avoid broad comparisons which seem to be little more than free associations of plausible ideas. For underlying

many of these associations are bits of misinformation and a web of cliches that should long ago have been discarded.

At the same time there is need to break down the too commonly held view that no one but a foreign area expert can appreciate the thought and art forms of another culture or the institutions and problems of another society. Such an attitude not only deprives students of the enjoyment they would receive from the literatures of Asia, for example, but also encourages provincialism and prejudice because it leads them to think that Asian people are incomprehensibly different from Westerners. Today, many students read Dostoevski or Proust even if they do not know a word of Russian or the facts of French history, and there is no reason why this should not be true of certain works of Asian literature as well. In fact, a teacher of English literature is likely to do a better job on the Chinese novel, Dream of the Red Chamber, as literature, than is a specialist in the Chinese language or in Chinese history. In the case of philosophy, it would be a mistake to restrict treatment of Chinese or Indian thinkers simply to the role they play in the history of Chinese or Indian civilization. After all, they do raise universal problems and offer solutions in ways that are both familiar and unfamiliar to American students. To confront students directly with alternative approaches is one of the most valuable things that the study of non-Western thought can do. For a student going further into, say, Chinese studies, it would be important to see how Confucius has affected Chinese society in various institutions and modes of thought. For students in general, however, it is perhaps just as important to ask, in the case of Confucius or Aristotle or other thinkers, what has he to say.

The social science and humanistic disciplines are also developing the international dimension of undergraduate education through the addition of courses on specific foreign areas. Actually, this has been the most common pattern of curricular development in foreign area studies on college campuses to date. This is largely because such courses are based upon the interests and competence of faculty members, who are area specialists, and are easy to fit into the discipline framework of the curriculum. Few, if any, of them are required. But their status as electives is assured, particularly when they are taught by competent specialists. It is the foreign area specialist who can provide students with knowledge in depth in the history, government and politics, social organization, philosophy, etc. of specific foreign cultures and societies. His courses make an important contribution to undergraduate education because they broaden the outlook and offerings of the discipline departments and provide the necessary supplement to language training and to introductory study of the area. Moreover, these courses are not narrow as is often charged. Their very nature makes them of necessity interdisciplinary. The study of Indian government and politics, for example, cannot ignore the religious fabric of Indian society, its social and economic institutions, and its historical and cultural development.

At large universities, if such courses are sufficiently attractive and the choice large enough, a sizeable number of students will benefit. But, while a smaller college may be able to develop a number of discipline courses of this kind, especially if there is a commitment to concentrate upon a single foreign area, there are

obvious practical limitations to course development on a multi-area basis. There is already excessive pressure from new courses from one kind or another. As new branches of knowledge are opened up, the pressure will increase and courses will proliferate endlessly. There has to be some logical point at which to stop in order to prevent students from being confronted with an appalling miscellany of offerings. Colleges are scarcely in a position to spread themselves across the board. Unless geographic continuity permits them to pool their resources, they will not have the faculty or library to support unlimited expansion. Experience has demonstrated that much time, effort, and money can be expended on the proliferation of such courses with relatively small results.

Introductory Foreign Area or Civilization Courses

As social scientists and humanists with foreign area training and experience become available, colleges will also be able to develop general education courses on civilizations other than our own, comparable to traditional ones in European history or Western civilization. Such courses help students to appreciate the experiences of other peoples and the rich contributions of other cultures to world history, to understand their problems, and to acquire some knowledge of the context in which cultural interaction takes place in the world today. Against the background of other human experience, students become more fully aware of the special contributions of Western civilization and are able to evaluate them more accurately. They gain a new perspective on their own history and a better understanding of the problems of their own society and their significance

in the contemporary world community. Lastly, such courses give students a deeper understanding of their own way of life and perhaps open their eyes to new possibilities.

Universities with substantial graduate facilities, e.g., Columbia, Harvard, Chicago and Michigan, were the first to develop general interdisciplinary courses on Asia as a means of exposing undergraduates to traditions different from their own. Some of these courses, and others like them on Africa, Russia and Latin America, have tended to become models. Increasingly, colleges are drawing upon the experience of universities, although necessarily adapting this experience to their own needs. Circumstances differ so greatly from one college to another that a wide variety of means will be employed to achieve similar ends. Yet in most cases, colleges have found it advantageous to get advice and assistance from experienced hands.

Since the kinds of introductory courses on foreign areas or civilizations have been described in earlier meetings and reports,⁷ I need not review them in detail again. Generally speaking they fall into two major categories: (1) those courses that deal with several areas or civilizations on a comparative and interrelated basis and (2) those that focus on a single area or civilization. These can have an historical emphasis, or more of a contemporary and multi-disciplinary stress.

Courses that purposely include more than one area or civilization, according to their teachers, provide perspectives that are lost in a course concentrating on a single civilization. While their teachers believe that any course that attempts to cover all of Asia is bound to fail, they argue that introductory courses based

upon several civilizations permit more effective use of comparative approaches. Their case may be summarized as follows: Because the major civilizations of Asia have discrete and distinctive characteristics which must be brought out, comparative approaches give students insights that might not be obtainable if the course was limited to only one civilization. Comparison of two or more large and complex areas in totality, is probably impossible, but similar parts of two or more areas, such as the family systems, can be profitably compared. And more broadly, it is profitable to contrast the striking absence of unified central dynasties in Indian history and the tendency for Indian civilization to fragment itself, with the continuity and stability of the Confucian system in China. Or to contrast the varying reactions of India, China, and Japan to Buddhism. And, in more recent times, to contrast the Japanese and Chinese experience in reaction to the impact of Western ideas and institutions.⁸ Moreover, as Professor de Bary has often pointed out, "Some familiarity with still another civilization should provide a triangulation point for the comparisons a student tends to make between the 'other' civilization and his own."

Courses that focus upon a single civilization play a somewhat different role, although they achieve many of the same objectives. At Chicago, for example, there are four one-year introductions to the civilizations of China, Japan, India and Islam. Undergraduates working for a B.A. in the social sciences take one of these civilization courses usually in their third or fourth year. The courses are also available as electives to other undergraduates. Professor Milton Singer has described them as follows:⁹

Each of the civilizations is viewed as a living and organic entity with a developing and changing career and characterized by a distinctive culture and social organization. The home ground on which each civilization was formed and crystallized as well as its areas of later spread are studied. The penetration of Indian, Islamic or Chinese civilization in Southeast Asia is thus treated as part of the career of the respective civilizations. So treated, the single civilization approach may be the best path to understanding Asia as a whole. As my colleague Edward Kracke puts it, 'In approaching any Asian civilization, the greatest difficulty seems to be that of overcoming our initial preconceptions concerning the bases of a civilization and its objectives, drawn from our Western experiences. If we can confine ourselves to penetrating as deeply as time allows into one civilization, and try to get beyond generalizations to the details that give them color and reality, we are on the way to understanding other civilizations as well...'

The question of which areas or civilizations are to be studied in introductory courses is one that cannot be ignored.

Professor de Bary has provided a sound answer:¹⁰

...Whether these civilizations are introduced singly or in combination, a judgment must still be made as to which areas or civilizations have the first claim on our attention. Teaching and library resources are rarely sufficient to deal with all continents and countries, nor is the time available to the student. For this reason again a distinction is useful between general education and specialized training. Some civilizations merit consideration because we realize, if only imperfectly, that their achievements and experiences are no less significant than those of Western civilization. These should be represented in general education. Others simply have not attained that distinction. As problem areas in the modern world they cannot be ignored, but it will suffice if they are offered only for some students to investigate and not for all.

He identifies the four major Asian civilizations -- Islamic, Indian, Chinese, and Japanese -- as meriting inclusion in the first group, and goes on to explain that:

to assign a higher priority...to the major Asian civilizations is justified by the greater richness and depth of their traditions, by the historical contributions to and influence upon other peoples beyond their own borders, and by the impressive continuity and stability of their traditional institutions down through the ages. It is little wonder

that the natural interest of Westerners today should spontaneously incline them to learn about Asia, for here are the peoples whose technological 'under development' can never be mistaken for immaturity of culture of society. Their social experience -- their population problems, their political institutions, their economic dilemmas -- in many ways anticipate those of the modern West. Their arts, literature, philosophy and religion in some respects achieved a refinement surpassing our own.

To focus, then, on Asian civilizations in a general education program is only to signify that there is more than enough matter here worthy of the student's attention and reflection, on a level with and as challenging for him as that which he encounters in Western civilization. Global scope -- with Russia, Africa, South America, and what not thrown in -- need not be the criterion, when to discover any one of the major Asian civilizations is virtually to discover a whole new world, and two or three of them a new universe.

Foreign Area Studies and Undergraduate Training

Until recently, almost all multi-disciplinary training in foreign area studies was conducted on the graduate level and at only a small number of foreign area studies centers.¹¹ But with the increase in the number of area specialists and their dispersal throughout the educational system during the past decade, undergraduates now have greater opportunities to undertake programs with some area specialization, including language study.¹² While undergraduate language and area programs still tend to be limited to the large universities which have the necessary resources, there is growing interest among colleges in following this trend. The position taken several years ago by the faculty and administration of an outstanding liberal arts college is a case in point.

The colleges as well as the universities, moreover, have a responsibility for the preparation of area and functional specialists, individuals equipped to explain and deal with previously remote areas of Africa and Asia, and with problems of economic development, political modernization, development administration, linguistics, and so on. It seems clear that

the undergraduate curriculum must give greater attention to these matters and give more students an opportunity to undertake pre-professional preparation for specialized training, including language study.

More colleges have accepted this responsibility, and this is to be applauded. However, colleges contemplating the development of a foreign language and area studies program should ask themselves some very hard questions. First to be considered is the relationship of area studies to the basic educational goals of the institution. More specifically, this boils down to the question: How can area studies be made an effective part of the overall programs of interested students? The key here is to avoid the kind of area study that would leave the student without a grounding in the Western tradition and without sound training in a departmental discipline.

Several approaches are possible. At Columbia, if the student elects to major in Oriental Studies, he can choose one of three major areas of interest: the Far East (China and Japan), South Asia (India and Pakistan), or the Near and Middle East. He is required to take twelve points of basic courses in a department, sixteen points in an Asian language, and twelve points in courses on the area (but six of these must be within the department whose discipline he has chosen), and, finally, a seminar. The faculty is convinced that this is one of the most rigorous majors in the college. Similar to this approach is the discipline major and area study minor which is common practice at a number of institutions. Another variation has been adopted by the University of Kansas, where there are three undergraduate area studies programs: Latin America, Russia and Slavic, and East Asia. In this case, the student must satisfy the requirements of a discipline major in addition to those of the area study program which has a strong language component. He graduates therefore with what amounts

to a double major. The actual organization of course work in each of these three patterns differs only slightly. What is important and held in common is that each seeks to avoid sole concentration upon area courses.

There are of course other practical matters to be considered. Colleges must recognize that the number of well-trained area specialists is scarce and is likely to remain so for some time. Area studies programs will not be effective unless there is adequate discipline participation. They must also be aware of the expense involved in providing area specialists with resources for teaching and research. Expansion of library holdings is particularly important. In order not to overreach themselves, colleges may wish to choose only one area in which to develop special competence, one that includes within its history a language that has been an important culture carrier. Cooperative efforts by local groups of colleges, based upon a kind of institutional division of labor, can help to facilitate progress and at the same time ensure maximum use of limited resources.

Conclusion

This paper has been based upon the assumption that undergraduate education must be developed as education for a world community. Robert M. Hutchins has recently made this point much better than I could ever hope to do:¹³

I would say that the object of all education is to prepare all students to participate in the Civilization of the Dialogue and that the particular object of the university is to exemplify the dialogue and carry it further. A university that succeeds in doing this is a success, no matter what else it fails to do; a university that fails in this is a failure, no matter what else it succeeds in doing.

The Civilization of the Dialogue assumes that man is a social and political as well as a rational being. The world is to be united by a sense of common humanity, common destiny, common enterprise, and the warmth of human feeling.

Admitting that we cannot solve human problems, we can work together toward their solution. We can think and think together about how to transform knowledge into wisdom. The body politic then becomes an organic unity of sympathy and solidarity engaged in a common search.

The crucial problem of mankind today is posed by the difference between the appeal to reason and the resort to violence. Violence necessarily lies at the heart of the old world.

Is the new world powerless to be born? I think, in spite of all appearances, it is being born. The recognition of our common humanity is being forced in upon us by political and technological events. The futility and dangers of the old world become clearer every day. The world community exists, whether we know it or not. The task is to supply the intellectual foundations and the political institutions necessary to the Civilization of the Dialogue.

And Professor Singer has demonstrated the basic contribution of foreign area studies in helping us to achieve this end:¹⁴

One ironic consequence of the growth of non-Western studies has, in fact, been to downgrade the importance of the distinction between 'Western' and 'non-Western.' For this particular way of dividing the world has little theoretical significance in any of the disciplines, old or new. On the contrary, just as comparative philology and historical linguistics brought Sanskrit and the languages of North India closer to those of Europe, so may the newer comparative studies discover new sources of affinity between Western and non-Western peoples. In that case, non-Western studies will be significant, not because they specialize in the exotic and unfamiliar, but because they help fill in the specific content and color of the blurred contours of a human nature that is universal.

Colleges must make all their students aware that they live in a world community and help them to understand what this means, and at the same time they must begin to provide a small but growing body of students with the kinds of specialized competence that can help solve the problems that face mankind.

Notes

- ¹Recent examples include The University and World Affairs (New York: The Ford Foundation, 1961; The College and World Affairs (New York: Education and World Affairs, 1964), including a selected bibliography; Non-Western Studies in the Liberal Arts College (Washington, D. C.: Association of American Colleges, 1964); and The Non-Western World in Higher Education, Volume 356 (November, 1964) of The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.
- ²William Theodore de Bary, "Education for a World Community," Liberal Education, Vol. 50 (December, 1964), pp. 7-8.
- ³Milton Singer, "The Social Sciences in Non-Western Studies," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Volume 356 (November, 1964), especially pp. 34-41.
- ⁴Albert H. Marckwardt, "The Humanities and Non-Western Studies," Ibid., pp. 50-51.
- ⁵Ibid., p. 52.
- ⁶F. Champion Ward, "Toward a Universal Curriculum," presented at The Annual Conference of Academic Deans at Denver, Colorado in January, 1961.
- ⁷William Theodore de Bary and Ainslie T. Embree (eds.), Approaches to Asian Civilizations (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); Eugene A. Boardman (ed.) Asian Studies in Liberal Education, Washington, D. C.; Association of American Colleges, 1959; Ward Morehouse (ed.) Asian Studies in Liberal Arts Colleges, Washington, D. C.: Association of American Colleges, 1961. There is also a convenient summary in The College and World Affairs, pp. 39-51.
- ⁸Professor de Bary made an interesting personal comment at a recent conference at Dartmouth on the use of comparisons in introductory courses: "What would be quite admissible, if one could assume a basic familiarity with some historical framework, becomes an impossibility for an introductory course. For this reason, the teacher in such a general course must constantly restrain himself and his students from plunging headlong into many of the numerous comparative inquiries which the deliberate juxtaposition of ideas, institutions and historical situations has opened up. He must accustom the student to living with such questions and rarely getting full answers. For, even if he has asked that a partial answer be accepted for the moment, and a kind of parentheses be put around it which can be opened later as a fuller picture emerges, he knows full well that there will never be time at the end of the course to deal individually and exhaustively with all the questions thus held in abeyance."

At least, the most I have ever been able to do is take a few such comparative problems, analyze them with the students, see how many of the relevant questions could be answered on the basis of their accumulated knowledge, and what kinds of inquiry and evidence would be needed to deal with those that remained."

- ⁹Milton Singer, "The Asian Civilizations Program at the University of Chicago in Boardman, op. cit., pp. 25-32.
- ¹⁰de Bary and Embree, op. cit., p. xiii.
- ¹¹I am using the term "area studies" here in the meaning of a broad, multi-disciplinary approach to a given area, combined with competence in the language (s) of that area.
- ¹²I have avoided discussion of the languages problem. I refer the reader to Undergraduate Instruction in Critical Languages and Area Studies, recommendation and report of a conference held at Princeton University, October 12-13, 1964.
- ¹³Robert M. Hutchins, "First Glimpses of a New World," Saturday Review (December 4, 1965), pp. 35, 93.
- ¹⁴Milton Singer, The Annals, p. 44.

Princeton University Conference on
Foreign Languages and Area Studies in the United States:
A Guide for High School and College Programs

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The Protestant Ethic and the Non-Protestant World:
A Challenge for Foreign Area Studies

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I believe the [Harvard] authorities would have been well pleased, for the sake of completeness, to have added a Buddhist, a Moslem, and a Catholic scholastic to the philosophical faculty, if only suitable sages could have been found, house-trained, as it were, and able to keep pace with the academic machine and to attract a sufficient number of pupils. But this official freedom was not true freedom, there was no happiness in it. A slight smell of brimstone lingered in the air. You might think what you liked, but you must consecrate your belief or your unbelief to the common task of encouraging everybody and helping everything on.

--Santayana

My assignment is to produce a paper which will contain or at least engender "philosophical" discussion of the goals and methods of non-Western area studies at school and college levels. The safe and orderly tactic would be to survey the sizable bibliography on the subject, identify inconsistencies and problems, and endorse with caution the more common-sensical options. My acquaintance with the "literature," however, is not secure and comprehensive enough, nor am I wise enough, to pin blue ribbons, to evaluate alternatives, to assuage guilt, to reaffirm faith. I am therefore driven to the academic ploy of return to first principles, reexamination of premises, clarification of terms.

I. The West and the Rest

It is well accepted that "Western" and "non-Western" are woefully inadequate rubrics for a dichotomy of the modern world, and that their sole value is as euphemisms for the invidious "development" polarity. As a "Latin Americanist"--indeed as a native of "America"--I am little bothered by arbitrary or irrelevant nomenclature that serves a practical function. However--also as a Latin Americanist--I am aware of a special irony in the fact that "my" region is lumped, somewhat apologetically, with the non-West. The point is not that Latin America is in some intermediate category because of its mestizo and Afro-American components or its halfway-house economic development. The point is that Latin America is incorrigibly "Western." What makes it such a riddle for us is not the ritual cannibalism of the Tupinamba Indians or its corporativist strategies for development, but the fact that nothing in American culture--and very little in American pedagogy--prepares us to understand the social philosophies of those eminently Western thinkers Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas.

In other words I challenge two notions: (1) that the American educational establishment now competently purveys the premises of the "Western" heritage and is therefore ready to take on the remaining world civilizations;¹ (2) that what "Western" operationally means is Judeo-Greco-Latin-Christian. I find it hard to reconcile the statement that our "educational horizons" now embrace "the heritage that we derive from Greek philosophers, Hebrew prophets and post-renaissance scientists"² with the statement that: "The trinity of Greek, Latin and mathematics was firmly established in colonial America, not to be disestablished until after the Revolution."³ It is little short of

impudent to affirm that the "liberal tradition in our education" was "born of Hellenic thought, strengthened by the Roman and Judeo-Christian heritage, rediscovered in the high Middle Ages, and re-emphasized by the humanistic revival of the Renaissance."⁴ How much more refreshingly honest is Santayana: "In academic America the Platonic and Catholic traditions had never been planted; it was only the Calvinistic tradition, when revived in some modern disguise, that could stir there the secret cord of reverence and enthusiasm."⁵

What is mostly meant by West and non-West, then, is "Protestant" and "non-Protestant"--or if "non-Protestant" is too deprivative, we might call them the Lonely Crowd and the Communitarian Societies. Such a division identifies the archetypal role of the United States and cuts Europe to accord England her reluctant partnership, Germany her accustomed schizophrenia, Denmark her showcase function, and Catholic France (Calvin's homeland) her coveted marginality.

If one were to chart some historical moments of American concern with self-knowledge and the wider world--to include perhaps Jonathan Edwards, Jefferson, the Transcendentalists, and some moderns (Hutchins, Conant, Kerr, Riesman, et al.)--it is by no means certain that these would fall in an ascending parabola from parochialism to mature and cosmopolitan world involvement. One might even say that in recent generations our "educational horizons" have contracted within the horizons of the Western heritage. Our very origins were of course sectarian--but it was a Protestantism defiant toward, perplexed by, grappling with other traditions. If America ever did cast off from history and the world, it is more likely that this happened in the late 19th century than in the 17th or the 18th. Pedagogical attempts of

the recent past to restore communion with our deeper history through meditation upon "great books" have the same preciousness and anti-septic piety which characterize the contemporary insistence upon "integration" of non-Western studies: "Only when such offerings form a coherent whole can the institution be said to have established a program of non-Western studies."⁶

A premise in much of the promotional literature about foreign area studies in our schools and colleges is that the United States, after long isolation from the world and immersion in domestic concerns, has now assumed the mantle of world leadership and must overhaul or tool up its educational system in unprecedented ways to meet its new obligations. Such a view of our past is highly condescending. It also inhibits us from looking to our own national history for cues, and encourages us to resort to improvisation, gimmickry, scientism, and organizational legerdemain. I confess my ingenuous enthusiasm for Paul Goodman's contrast between Jefferson's stress upon an educational quest to determine national goals and Dr. Conant's stress upon harnessing education to preestablished national goals.

It would be a mistake, then, to isolate the status of area studies as "the problem." Why is it that despite a rising tide of surveys and analyses of the place of non-Western studies in curricula, the overviews of our educational establishment (Conant, Goodman) make almost no reference to the need and strategies for new cross-cultural commitments? So far does this go that one of our most distinguished educational leaders contributes to a committee report on The University and World Affairs and, in the same year, publishes a book of his own, Excellence, which, though largely concerned with American education, leaves the international horizon virtually unmentioned.

II. Some Questions

If there are serious questions in the air about the American educational establishment itself, our primary concern should not be merely with non-Western studies and the options of tacking them on, infusing them, or integrating them at school and college levels. Insofar as we are defining purposes and not procedures, we are really asking: Is this the proper moment for the rest of the world to become visible to us? The question seems rhetorical. But when we recall that the traditional Protestant way of handling uncomfortable or alien situations is to declare them invisible (Ralph Ellison's "invisible man"; non-recognition of China), we find ourselves before an important spiritual or at least psychotherapeutical challenge. Here are some questions which this big one unlocks:

(1) A large majority of youths who pass through the American educational establishment, including those who reach the doctoral level, do so without significant, sustained exposure to the history and culture of three-fourths of the world. Is this mere oversight, or does it reflect a powerful foreshortening of educational philosophy?

(2) If we assume a homogeneous, economically successful nation with a large population and area and no history of threatening neighbors on its borders (I presume that the U. S. alone meets this definition, though Australia meets most of it)--is it possible for such a nation to develop sophistication toward alien cultures by reform of its domestic school system?

(3) Education presumably derives from the sensitive examination of any piece of experience. If this be so, then the claim that American schools give an education manque because of insufficient attention to

the non-Western world should be restated as an accusation that American Studies and Western Civilization are now badly taught. Do American Studies programs seriously consider the "American" experience of a score of other New World countries? Is Western Europe made present to us as anything more than "background" and "influences"? Does the study of Germany and England go much beyond conventional offerings in history, literature, and philosophy? Do we explore the social anthropology of France? A recent declaration that Western European studies are a legitimate preserve for area-studies philanthropy might charitably be interpreted as recognition of these deficiencies. Be that as it may, the message to pressure groups for non-Western studies is that their cause is less than hopeful until the dog of parochialism leaps from the manger of Western studies--where, eventually, the non-Western horse must feed.⁷ To make the point differently: It would try me sorely to decide whether it is more important to restore Greek to the central curriculum or introduce the study of Indonesian politics. But just as it seems improbable that the former would occur simply as the result of a classicists-of-the-world unite movement, so is it unlikely that the latter would occur, in any meaningful fashion, simply from the lobbying of non-Western pressure groups.

(4) We have stumbled on the central pedagogical implication of non-Western studies. We are no longer asking how best to smuggle these studies into standard curricula now that we are convinced of their use and respectability. We are instead saying that the only conceivable justification for smuggling them in is that they serve as a Trojan horse for educational reform (which might, like the recent "general education" movement, be effective for a generation or so). It matters little that non-Western course content be taught. As Paul

Goodman has said, we are presumably to teach young people, not subject matter.

Our non-Western specialists are important to us not because they penetrate Oriental mysteries or predict Carribean surprises but because they angle into subject matter freshly. They recognize no pecking order or compartmentation of scholarly disciplines, no walls between Great Traditions and popular or folkloric ones. This produces a good deal of cant about "integrated" and "interdisciplinary" programs. But it also shows up our "Western" specialists as performing largely curatorial functions.⁸

The real use of non-Western studies is their emotional and intellectual shock. If this shock were now being provided by American Studies--that is, if our students were experiencing their own culture as foreign--the situation would be propitious ipso facto for non-Western studies to find their proper curricular nest without elaborate strategies and apologies. To put it the other way, only when American culture is so experienced will we know that non-Western studies have found their nest.

III. The Universities

As a loyal academic I should at some point move into a pious statement about the efficacies of "education," and the bellwether role of universities in pioneering new fields of knowledge and transmitting fresh orientations to the school system and the public bureaucracies. The more one reflects on it, however, the more one suspects that our own educational establishment functions little differently from those which we are so quick to criticize in foreign lands. That is, it celebrates the national culture more than it innovates, it harnesses

aptitudes more than it nurtures dissidence, it is a rock to be pried more than a lever for change. To judge by some nostalgic accounts the first and last great age of the universities was the 13th century. Since then whole generations, even centuries, have elapsed in the English-speaking world when universities were in quarantine against intellectual ferment and leadership.⁹

American universities, often ensconced on comfortable land grants, have been singularly docile in taking leads from the federal government. They never bite the hand that feeds; at best they glower a moment before eating. They dutifully produce atom bombs and Tagalog speakers. When the chill winds of McCarthyism blow from Washington, they philosophically hunch their shoulders against them. When the calls to New Frontiers and Great Societies are issued, they respond with cautious sympathy.

For generations the large, well established American universities have been tending discreet flames on the hearths of non-Western scholarship. The fact that the fires are now being fueled sufficiently to cast modest warmth is owing to efforts from extra-university sources: SSRC, ACLS, the foundations, the government. Given the circumspection of the donors and the diffused focus of university administrations, there is no immediate prospect that whole academic edifices will "catch fire" from these freshly stoked hearths. However, we must not lose sight of our proposition that non-Western studies may be a Trojan horse for sweeping educational reform. And we must face up to every implication of the fact that extra-university agencies are carpentering the horse.

For at least two reasons the university cannot be expected to generate, unassisted, the educational revolution which the non-Western

impact shows it to stand in need of. First, academic promotion procedures tend to purge aggressiveness from policy formation. That is, most establishments (business, foundations, federal bureaucracies) draw their leaders from tenured, routinized strata and place them in precarious policy positions where they must "show their stuff." Universities give tenure to those in precarious lower strata once they have shown their stuff. Academic programs might take a sudden jolt forward if their directors were deprived of tenure and given triple salaries.

A second point is that universities are less able than other establishments to hierarchize or orchestrate disparate or antithetical goals. A business firm or a TV station rarely searches its soul before the maximum profits--public service dilemma. A university, bogged down in duties and pieties, seems impotent before such real or alleged dichotomies as research--teaching, education--training, pure scholarship--aid to the underdeveloped, sympathy for the non-West--counsel for the Pentagon. It is almost defenseless against this type of shotgun blast:

At the center of these new educational demands, all the more pressing because they often coincide with the policy goals of our government, stands the American university. It is challenged to meet the needs of our own people for a far better knowledge and understanding of others. It is challenged at the same time to help meet the needs of emerging nations for the creation and rapid improvement of whole educational systems.

Whether the rapid technological and social development upon which nations insist will take place by totalitarian regimentation or in conditions of growing individual freedom and responsibility is a crucial question of our times. It is an educational question as well as a social, economic and political question.¹⁰

In these two brief paragraphs the university is summoned to the following, probably incompatible tasks: (1) to further U. S. policy goals,

(2) to give Americans a better understanding of other peoples, (3) to help other nations to "emerge," (4) to help other nations emerge along non-totalitarian paths.

The need to clarify ground rules for government-university cooperation became apparent at a recent conference on Latin America where the government and academic sectors commingled. The former led off with a well rounded, self-consistent, and, we thought, quite wrong-headed explication and defense of Washington's Latin American policy. Somehow the academics, instead of replying properly, were thrown back on a disjointed and apologetic statement of their "role." What went unsaid, unfortunately, was that a prime function of universities is to nurture our only groups of spokesmen whose constituencies are the peoples of other societies. By spokesmen I do not mean salesmen of this or that brand of exotic leftism. I mean persons who have sympathetic commitments to another culture in its entirety, who respond to the pressures of its past, the logic of its history, the exigencies of its present, the limits and turbulence and promise of its future.

It is by now apparent that my bias is more toward recovery of wisdom than toward advancement of science. I am skeptical of the deification of "Research." I am chilled by the matter-of-fact statement that American social scientists,

who had paid little attention to the non-Western world, were now [1940's] beginning to realize that data on all significant societies in the world were important to the theoretical growth of their disciplines. Generalizations should be based on as broad a range of comparable data as possible.¹¹

I am romantic enough to see the publication of Hakluyt's Principall Navigations as culturally more generous in its day than the creation of data banks for Burma and Chile in our own. I am naive enough to wonder

whether the 146 graduate language and area programs at 61 universities are nourishing the kind of sensibility which produced Forster's Passage to India.

From this parti pris let me recapitulate what I take as optimum goals for non-Western studies programs that should inform university-government negotiations:

- (1) Pedagogical. To educate American youth to participate in their own culture.
- (2) Tactical. To serve as beachheads for broad academic reform.
- (3) Representational. To provide mature, permanent constituencies for foreign cultures and societies (not political regimes) within our country.

To these I would add: (4) International liaison. It is high time that American universities inserted themselves into an international university community. This means primary networks of cooperative, reciprocally acting, non-competitive institutions which absorb the basic costs of liaison into their normal financing. Saturation assistance operations, academic rivalries for research monopolies and foreign operations platforms, limitation of exchange to "area specialists," and American campus enclaves overseas are generally not congruent with a mature liaison program.¹²

These four goals have at least the virtue of mutual compatibility. It is in subordination to them that I would hope to see academic concertmasters orchestrate the secondary motifs of hard-nosed research; advancement of science; massive technical-assistance operations; maintenance of data and talent banks as a national "resource"; professional or semi-professional training of diplomats, technical consultants, international lawyers and businessmen, journalists, and secret agents.

Now it is clear that if universities approach the traditional strongholds of government concern with international affairs under this four-point banner, they will be turned back. The four goals are irrelevant--and at least one antithetical--to the usual interests of the State-Defense axis. But happily our government is not a uni-splendored thing. The Peace Corps (which breaks up the cloistered university grind), the Fulbright-Hays program (a Trojan horse within State, which insists that traveling students enroll in foreign universities), and perhaps the science and new humanities foundations are all university allies and even catalysts for university renovation. But the real burden of mediating between educational goals and national goals is being assumed by the mushrooming Office of Education--which declares education itself to be a national goal. To appreciate the implications of this new federal commitment to education one need only contrast the ideology-free aims of OE's area centers and summer institutes with State's impudent scheme to create or reupholster a chain of "Inter-American universities" throughout Latin America.

The educational establishment needs to assess fully the significance of the battle line drawn between State and OE. Even so circumspect a document as an Education and World Affairs report observes apprehensively:

Relation between CU [Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State] and the Office [of Education] have long been marked by controversy . . . It is probably unrealistic, though tempting, to believe that the air might be cleared by discussions aimed at formal agreement on basic policies.¹³

It is not in the interests of educators to remain neutral in this battle of the commissars.

IV. Some Trial Balloons

1. Languages.

I am not one who wrings his hands over American monolingualism, for it has not been my experience that Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Spaniards are significantly more venturesome than we in linguistic matters. Moreover, I assume that the main question has nothing to do with mobilizing special knowledge and techniques for teaching exotic languages. This might be critical in Brazil or Turkey, but not in the nation best equipped for technifying pedagogy and the storage and dissemination of knowledge. Finally, I assume that linguistic achievement is sharply conditioned by environment. Several years ago I was invited to lead a sixth-grade class in a school in Curacao. These were students whose native tongue was Papiamentu but who had received all their instruction in Dutch from the first grade on. Since I knew neither language, I asked them to translate eight passages among three tertiary languages: French, English, and Spanish. This they did with unusual ease, and some, who planned to study in Europe, were even embarking on German.

The pre-college years are ideal for language study, and one is heartened by reports of current success with Russian and Far Eastern tongues at this level. There are limits, however, to how far pedagogical and technological ingenuity can go in creating a climate of motivation. The substitution of mimetic techniques for paradigmatic analysis threatens to purge the last vestige of intellectual challenge from language learning. One is saddened to see one's graduate students yearning to plunge into omnivorous reading but forced to intone aimless colloquialisms in the language lab, as though condemned to endless confession of linguistic sin in the isolation of an electronic confession box.

In short, the taylorization of language teaching is no substitute for cultural involvement. Private duty and national need are meager incentives to learning.

2. The Wholeness of Teaching.

I admit to some distress at the occasional suggestion that introductory area studies programs be "pushed back" into the high schools. When this began happening with General Education or Western Civ courses it seemed to betray weariness on the part of colleges and lack of inventiveness (or self-confidence) on the part of schools. We should make sure that students will not be subjected to a repetitive and never-deepening series of integrated introductions to "civilizations" from the ninth grade through the M.A.

In my ignorance of the ways of pedagogy I must rely for simple guidelines on Whitehead's three stages of romance, precision, and generalization. The stage of romance capitalizes on the "freshness of inexperience"; it provides "plenty of independent browsing amid first-hand experiences, involving adventures of thought and action."

[A] block in the assimilation of ideas inevitably arises when a discipline of precision is imposed before a stage of romance has run its course in the growing mind. There is no comprehension apart from romance.

Unfortunately I have no clear notions of how to institutionalize "romance" in school curricula. It does seem, though, that the social sciences, which figure so prominently in "area programs," are appropriate only very selectively at this level. It is a truism that intellectual response to and grasp of the social sciences develop much later than for the humanities and natural sciences--usually not until after the age at which their professional practitioners are certified as "doctors."

As I cast about for alternatives to high school courses on African history and chaperoned discussion groups on Viet Nam policy, it occurs to me that it might be refreshing to subsidize a large invasion of creative talent--writers, artists, musicians, actors, dancers --from foreign lands into our high schools. They would be persons without the pedigrees or specialism or academic docility or knowledge of English required by universities--or else persons whom it would be a pity to incarcerate as artists-in-residence for the rarefied pleasure of a few graduate students. This would not be a hand-me-down college program, but something better--more vital and unpredictable--than colleges dare sponsor. Each guest would be received without fanfare by a school, given his or her atelier, music room, or book-lined study, oriented to the cultural facilities of the city or community. The visitors would have no formal teaching duties. A few curious students would make overtures. There would be linguistic challenges. Impromptu and unorthodox language classes would develop. The artist would begin to teach, tutor, or perform in his medium. Through that medium, and in a hundred other ways, he would begin to create impressions, arouse curiosity, transmit knowledge and skills, communicate a new style of life, a different view of the world, a common humanity. Some visitors would be a fiasco--as indeed are many courses and programs. Others might stay a year, two years, even a lifetime.

Quite obviously, I find it hard to translate pedagogical innovation into curricula, course content, and teacher-training programs. I keep thinking of persons who would innovate, embody wisdom and broad experience, and serve, in Aristotle's phrase, as "models for action." Clearly such persons must be produced domestically as well as imported.

I would set as a goal the recruitment of one or more teachers for each school who would individually represent one or more foreign cultures as their "constituency." They would have each their own disciplinary interests, but an important part of their education would be the "area studies" background which has become unacceptable as a pedigree for university careers. I would imagine them to be wiser, more rounded, more steeped in a foreign culture than college teachers of the same age group. They would be concerned with transmitting a sense of the style and excitement and wholeness of other cultures. They would often travel abroad, usually with small groups of students whose enthusiasms had been touched. They would not be "specialists." Indeed their presence would be a rebuke to the shocking trend of teacher specialization that now reaches even into elementary schools. Their opportunities, responsibilities, and prestige might be more enviable than those of most college teachers.

The recruitment and education of these teacher-counselors should not be left loosely to area studies programs. The task demands the leadership of specific groups of scholars who combine intellectual focus with breadth of outlook. On the basis of my own experience with general education programs (and at the risk of being intolerably invidious) I will venture that anthropologists, philosophers, and historians might be three kinds of scholars who would most fully comprehend the implications of the challenge, and whose ideas and talents might be tapped to address it successfully.

3. The Educational Chute.

The public school which my children attend no longer has Grades I, II, and III. It has fifteen "progress levels" instead. Children are

now measured, graded, and sorted like eggs as they roll down the educational chute. The Grade A Jumbos who reach the end and drop into the liberal-arts Ph. D. box ideally complete the descent (!) at age 24 or 25. Unless an educational experience other than schooling has intervened, these persons will lack the assurance and wisdom needed to analyze foreign mind-sets and social systems. The one frantic year or doctoral research in Cairo or Quito--relearning a language, getting sick, pacifying a wife and children,¹⁴ desperately redefining and truncating a thesis topic under sudden anxieties about professional fiasco--hardly qualifies as a remedial experience.

The rationalization and speed-up of schooling, unless corrected for, increasingly divorces students from life. It is a subcategory of the broader process described by Cassirer as the rationalization of our symbolic universe. "Physical reality seems to recede in proportion as man's symbolic activity increases. Instead of dealing with things themselves man is in a sense constantly conversing with himself."

The antidote to speed-up, testing, sorting, and electronic teaching is periodic surcease and exposure to the world. Here again the federal government comes to the rescue with the Peace Corps and military service (although it is precisely the dread of military service that forces many to tighten their grip on the academic vine). The Peace Corps seems by and large a most salutary innovation (although one forlornly wishes that it might have had an inter-university origin); perhaps its main shortcoming is that it does not recruit substantially from the undergraduate and school levels. I am told by persons who have compared Peace Corpsmen (specifically, those who are recent college graduates without professional training) and British Overseas Volunteers

working in the same environment that the latter turn out better. Because they are younger they arrive with more linguistic aptitude, more openmindedness, less ideology, less anxiety about their subsequent careers. They have no rhetorical ideas about "community development"; they are better prepared to start off with a humble manual task and to let any larger contributions develop naturally in context.

What I am driving at is that the glass-brick walls of school-rooms need not a prison make. Youths in their teens as well as in their twenties should be periodically thrust out of the inexorable school system and into life. (The Deweyan alternative of re-creating life-experience in the schools no longer seems feasible.) There are many opportunities for travel, work, and community involvement in our own country--beyond jobs as summer lifeguards. In the great homogeneity of America, however, one has to be a bit more ingenious to identify contexts for inter-cultural exposure. And even if such ingenuity is taxed to the utmost, it seems clear that high school students will have to be exported in appreciable numbers for cross-cultural inoculation if the study of foreign cultures at the college-university level is to have anything other than a hothouse growth.

It will be objected that if elite corps of graduate students are already causing "problems" and tripping over each other in foreign capitals, what will happen when planeloads of high school juniors are dumped in the streets of New Delhi? The answer is that graduate students are encouraged by their mentors--and by fellowship programs which require "significant" research--to locate in the capitals and imperiously demand access to massive research facilities, consultation with the host country's half dozen leading scholars, and immunity to pry into

the most sensitive aspects of national policy formation. Small wonder that the fifty or hundred graduate students in Rio have become so agglutinated, and even formally organized. It is surely not on quantitative grounds that a country of eighty million people finds this number of Americans to be indigestible.

We need not examine here the many headaches--logistical, organizational, political--which the deployment in small detachments of thousands of high school students in the small towns of other countries would pose. But the goal needs to be stressed. One hopes that young Americans might at that age more easily learn to live and move inconspicuously in another culture, to accept the world's diversity as natural, to appreciate that fellow man is an end and not a means, to distinguish between a friend and a "respondent."

Notes

¹"He conquered all the Indians that came within his sight,
And he looked around for more when he was through."
--Traditional college song.

²Association of American Colleges, Non-Western Studies in the Liberal Arts College (Washington, 1964), p. 12.

³Ibid., p. 19.

⁴The College and World Affairs (New York, 1954), pp. 8-9.

⁵George Santayana, Character and Opinion in the United States (New York, n.d.), p. 40.

⁶Association of American Colleges, op. cit., p. 56.

⁷A Romance Language chairman at a leading Eastern university recently expressed shock at my suggestion that his department offer a course on African and Caribbean literature in French.

⁸The subversive potential of the non-Western language and area center has not gone unperceived in the Office of Education: "Its ultimate effect may well be to so revitalize and reinvigorate the liberal arts that they may once again become a dominant force in our national life." Donald N. Bigelow, "The Center Concept and the Changing Curriculum," Higher Education (July 1962), 8.

- ⁹In our society the cues to self-knowledge tend to emanate from the literary-artistic rather than the academic community. Universities shrewdly perceive this, and do what they can to appropriate and routinize creative talent. In Latin America, on the other hand, I suspect that: (1) the literary community has lower specific gravity than our own, and (2) the universities, for all their archaism and demogogy, have more potential for cultural renovation than our own.
- ¹⁰The University and World Affairs (New York, 1961), p. 1.
- ¹¹George E. Taylor, "The Leadership of the Universities," The American Academy of Political and Social Science, The Annals, vol. 356 (Nov. 1964), 3.
- A leading Latin American sociologist writes of American social scientists in Latin America:
- "(a) they produce an accumulation of data, irrelevant for the knowledge of the social structure of the region or its different national societies;
 - (b) they do not contribute all that would be necessary and possible to the development of autonomous thought and the formation of higher personnel for social research;
 - (c) they do not increase or facilitate the creation of a 'universe of communication' among Latin American institutions and sociologists; on the contrary, they distort it."
- Jorge Graciarena, "Some Considerations on International Co-operation and the Recent Development of Sociological Research in Latin America," paper for the International Conference on Comparative Social Research in Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 7-16 Sept. 1964.
- ¹²In more skeptical moments I wonder whether the U.S. academic outcry over the Camelot fiasco was less on grounds of principle than out of fear that dozens of private academic "Camelots" were threatened.
- ¹³The U. S. Office of Education: A New International Dimension (New York: Education and World Affairs, 1964), p. 46.
- ¹⁴Because of larger fellowships or a rising level of libidinality early marriage is becoming universal for graduate students. For a doctoral researcher on his first trip abroad I can imagine no more impenetrable curtain between him and the foreign culture than a wife, especially the liberal, understanding sort. Travel awards should include financial penalties rather than allotments for dependents.